JAPANESE COLOUR PRINTS

EDWARD F. STRANGE

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JAPANESE COLOUR PRINTS

BY

EDWARD F. STRANGE

WITH 84 ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE.

Since the appearance, in 1897, of my first book on this subject *Japanese Illustration* (London, G. Bell & Sons), a great deal of additional information on the subject of the colour prints and their makers has come into my hands, which has necessitated the revision of some of the statements therein contained, and the abandonment or modification of more than one of the conclusions to which the facts, as then available, had led me. This is especially the case in the account of the relationship between Harunobu and Koriūsai, and between the artists named Hiroshige. In the former instance I have had to give up my theory; in the latter, it is now proved, to demonstration, to have been correct in all essentials.

In the compilation of this volume, I have had the valuable assistance of Mr. R. Kohitsu, the representative of a family which for several generations has followed, in Japan, the hereditary calling of the professional art expert. He has kindly translated and collated all the Japanese published accounts of the artists of the Popular School, and so has enabled me to verify or correct the biographical accounts of them already given by myself and other European writers. The translations of titles of books and prints made by him for the Museum have also proved a most fruitful source of information; as have those previously done by Mr. G. Kowaki and Mr. K. Minakata for the same institution. I have to acknowledge, not only the kind personal assistance given me

by Mr. Arthur Morrison, but also the invaluable aid afforded by his writings on "The Painters of Japan"[1] in *The Monthly Review* (1902); the most authentic and satisfactory essay on the subject of Japanese painting yet produced in any western country. The catalogue of the Hayashi sale, and the exhaustive monograph by M. Revon on "Hokusai" have also been of great service. Lastly, I am glad to thank Mr. L. W. Micheletti, of this Museum, for his help in my study of the many thousand prints in that collection.

July, 1904. EDWARD F. STRANGE.

NOTE.—Since the above was written, Mr. Arthur Morrison has published a valuable illustrated monograph with the above title[1] (1911); and further biographical information has appeared in the *Kokkwa*, the publications of the *Shimbi Shoin* and elsewhere. Mr. H. Inada has given valuable assistance in connection with later additions to the collections, which can now be seen on application in the Department of Engraving, Illustration and Design Room (71); and my colleague, Mr. A. J. Koop, has kindly verified the transliteration of the Japanese names.

1913. E. F. S.

NOTE TO 5TH ED.—The text of this edition has been revised and a number of new illustrations are added. The Museum has since received many accessions, both by purchase and especially by the important gift of the Japanese prints, etc., from the collection of the late W. Alexander, Esq., due to the generosity of the Misses Alexander.

1923. E. F. S.

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I.

INTRODUCTION.

A COLLECTION of Japanese colour prints may be made from either of two points of view. That of the amateur will be so chosen as to include good examples of each artist of importance ; more attention being paid to an adequate representation of his style, whatever its intrinsic merits, than to any other consideration, and to the attainment of series of sets of work of this nature so complete as to include that of even the rarest practitioners of the art. Perhaps the most typical collection of this class was that of M. Hayashi* sold in Paris, in June, 1902. This contained a large number of prints by men whose names are seldom met with, and many of whom are not represented at all in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. They belong to the earlier schools, little or nothing is known about them, and their work has small practical value for the student or designer. On the other hand, the Museum possesses very large numbers of prints by later men, who have not generally been deemed worthy of the attention of the collector. These prints are richer in colour than those just referred to ; they are filled with examples of costume, furniture, and all sorts of utensils ; and, if they are inferior in absolute artistic merit, they are of inestimably greater utility for these reasons to the designer, the craftsman, and the student of the applied

* Collection Hayashi : Dessins, Estampes, Livres illustrés du Japon. (Sale Catalogue) Paris, 1902.

arts of Japan. While the endeavour has been to secure such examples of the use of the art as will explain fully its development and technique, the greater part of the collection has been acquired for the sake of subject only ; and this is the explanation of the apparently overwhelming preponderence given to the work of artists of less than the first rank. One of the most amazing characteristics of the Japanese colour printers of the first half of the nineteenth century is their almost inexhaustible fertility of invention, not in idea, but in arrangement, in colour scheme, in details of pattern and accessories. Among many thousands of prints of this school which the author has examined, he has found only a very few which possess any close resemblance to each other ; a fact of some note in view of the circumstances under which they were produced.

The collection, then, is essentially one to be used, and not hoarded simply for the satisfaction of the curious. To the book illustrator, and especially the maker of posters, it offers a superb series of examples of the proper use of line in conjunction with masses of flat colour, of the effective placing of one or more figures in a panel, of a disposition of the lettering, signatures and seals, which, as a rule, is inevitably right ; in short, of composition which always implies due correlation of the various elements of the picture. The designer will find here an endless variety of pattern and combination of colour, the latter almost always in good taste and practicable. For the student of the other arts of Japan, there are illustrations of architecture, of domestic interiors, of arms and armour, of lacquer, metal-work, musical instruments, and details of dress and articles of personal adornment, all set forth in such a way as to show not only their form but their daily uses. And, lastly, the sociologist can study in these prints much of the daily life of the people, more particularly of the lower orders,

and the favourite legends and histories of a nation far richer than many in such lore. It was for good reasons that the school of painters, of which the colour print makers are the most humble but best known section, received the name of *Ukiyo-ye*—Mirror of the Passing World.

The very existence of such a school amid the more highly cultured classes of Japanese painters, all devoted with Oriental singlemindedness and conservatism to one or the other of the accepted conventions, is a matter of interest too great to be passed by casually. In Europe, the religious paintings of the Greek Church alone afford any parallel to the severity of limitation imposed upon the followers of the various schools of painting, into which the aristocratic art of Japan has been divided for many generations. And yet the latter are superior in range of subject and in the intellectual treatment of it. They have little, even in the Buddhistic school, of the absolutely inartistic fetters of the former—fetters classing its whole output as mere repetitions of traditional designs, in the making of which there is room for no variation other than that supplied by difference of technical skill or material. The distinction between the Japanese schools, always easily recognisable, is yet invariably one of style ; and this has never prevented the full development of the individuality of the artist. But the subjects, in so far as they dealt with the figure, whether religious or secular, were abstractions and essentially idealistic. The realistic portrayal of contemporary life was considered vulgar ; and the standard of excellence was based on refinement of thought and colour, coupled with a supreme quality of caligraphic line, in which the Japanese have been unequalled by any except certain of the old Chinese painters.

All these schools have kept their characteristics unblemished up to the present day, by a close system

of what one might call artistic heredity. The relations between master and pupil were to a great extent those of father and son. The master not only taught his pupil, but, as a certificate of merit, transmitted to the latter his name either wholly or in part. The artists were of good social standing, and held definite rank in the retinues of the Mikado and of the great nobles for whom they worked. The common people, the artisan, tradesman and peasant classes, had in old days no pictorial art of their own. The development of an internal movement to supply it produced the work with which this volume deals.

The relation of the designers of colour prints to painters of higher degree is by no means easy to make clear to European comprehension. The former were indeed painters—a fact which has not been too widely grasped hitherto. They had little to do with the process of reproduction of their designs, beyond supplying the drawings and indicating the colour schemes. In their more exalted moments they painted as did their brethren of better rank. And it is curious and enlightening to note that such few references to them as can be found in Japanese critical writings on art, almost invariably relate to this portion only of their work, a phase hardly known to many collectors of their colour prints. The Japanese writer ignores the latter, the mere pot-boiling of the artist's life, and recognises but the pure-brush-work, which showed forth his more serious efforts and aspirations. Of those later men, whose painting was unimportant, we find practically no biographical or critical record.

It must then be understood at the outset that painting was the business in life of the best of these artists. The engraving and printing were each done by separate craftsmen; possibly, during the best period, under the supervision of the artist, though there is no definite

evidence to support that theory, and some indications exist to the contrary. The artists are not known, in any single case, themselves to have cut or printed their drawings. Many of them, indeed, produced enormous numbers of designs for prints; but the extent of their output in this direction will not be astonishing to anyone acquainted with the extraordinary facility possessed by the Japanese draughtsman, and the small demand made on his imaginative faculties by this part of his work. On the other hand, it is certain that the leaders prided themselves chiefly on their painting; and it is probable that all practised that highest form of their art whenever they had the opportunity.

Now, Japanese painting of the higher order is not a mere formless exotic of culture. It has developed on lines which allow a more accurate classification than does the art of any European nation. The style and method of drawing of the Japanese artist enable him to be placed exactly in the precise school to which he belongs. If he has a mixture of two styles, the characteristics of each will be present. And these schools are so wonderfully conservative, and so clearly delimited, that at the present day each has its followers, faithful and easily recognisable as in the sixteenth century. The one element of chaos has been that arising from the imperfect assimilation of European taste and methods on the part of, fortunately, only a few painters.

Japanese painters are classified under one or the other of the following schools—Buddhist, Tosa, Chinese, Kanō, Shijō, Ukiyoye, and a few others of less importance. All the designers of colour prints belong to the Ukiyoye ("Mirror of the Passing World") School, a group which has taken its name from the nature of the subjects generally, but not invariably, depicted by it. The student is warned against jumping to the conclusion,

however, that this choice of subject furnishes the only ground for the classification. That rests also on, as has been pointed out above, a characteristic style and method of technique. Artists of several schools have at times chosen subjects from the same source; but it is the style, and not the subject, that rules the Japanese, as any other sensible system of grouping painters.

The historical origin of the Ukiyoye School has been the subject of a good deal of misstatement and confusion until quite recently, when it was cleared up and authentically set forth for the first time by Mr. Arthur Morrison.* Its founder, Iwasa Matabei (or Matahei), was of good family, the son of Araki Murashige, Daimyō of Itami, in the province of Settsu, who killed himself as a consequence of an unsuccessful struggle with the great Nobunaga in 1579. Matabei, than a child, was saved by his nurse; and, after the death of Nobunaga, obtained some sort of office in the train of the latter's successor, Nobuō, receiving some lessons in painting from a former retainer of his father, Shigesato, a pupil of Kanō Shōyei. Later on he studied for a short time under Tosa Mitsunori; but he was essentially a self-trained artist, in whose work more of his own individuality is seen than of the methods of either Kanō or Tosa School. Matabei rarely put his name to his paintings. "He is said to have pursued his art, like a true artist, for its own sake, and to have held in contempt that general approval from his inferiors which we should call fame" (Morrison). He was employed, to a considerable extent, by the Shōgun Iyemitsu; and died when executing a large order for decoration of screens, etc., which were to form part of the dowry of Chiyohime, the daughter of Iyemitsu. His death took place at Yedo on the 23rd day of the 6th month of the year 1650, at

* The Painters of Japan. In *The Monthly Review*, November, 1902.

the age of seventy-three. Matabei used also the names Shō-i and Katsumochi; his contemporaries called him, by reason of his new style, Ukiyo Matabei. His portrait, by himself, is reproduced in the "Kokka" (see Nos. 303, 304).

He was followed by a son, Matabei II (Iwasa Gembei, Katsushige), whose work was also, as a rule, unsigned, and has therefore been generally confused with that of his father, whose style it follows closely. This painter died on the 20th day of the second month, 1673.

The productions of these two artists were distinguished by the names, Shō-i Matabei and Katsushige Matabei. But additional confusion arose by the discovery that a third contemporary painter, a native of Kyōto, named Tosa Shō-i, had painted in their style, though without their merit; while a fourth artist, who lived at Ōtsu, near Kyōto, actually held the same name as the two first, though it was written differently, with two syllabic characters instead of three. This man was the principal maker of Ōtsuye (Ōtsu pictures), rough coloured caricatures which were probably the precursors of the colour prints.* He is said to have died during the period Kiōhō (1716–1735), at the age of eighty-nine.

Hitherto, all the productions of these four men have been indiscriminately grouped together under the one name. It must now be clearly stated that the first, Iwasa Matabei, was, however, the founder of the school; and to distinguish him from the last, whose paintings had an undoubted technical influence on the special form of art, the colour prints—which are the subject of this volume—it is now conveniently agreed to adopt the spelling "Matabei" for the great painter who made the style, and Matahei for the inferior caricaturist who, more or less, suggested the colour prints.

* So accepted by the colour-print artists themselves, see below, p. 144.

Although Matabei lived long before the beginning of the period of the coloured wood engravings, his work should be studied for the sake of the principles formulated therein, the derived effect of which is so strongly characteristic of the Ukiyoye artists of the eighteenth century. "His style," says Mr. Morrison, "was at the same time delicate and broad; striking, though never strained or violent effects of colour and mass were aimed at, doubtless because much of the painter's work was the decoration of screens. Matabei was a great colourist, his drawing was forcible and bold, and he never sacrificed 'size' of design to mere prettiness."*

It is not necessary for present purposes to discuss the earlier painters of the Ukiyoye at greater length; beyond pointing out that Hishikawa Moronobu is not entitled, as has been claimed, to the credit of a revival of painting in this style in 1670. The first Matabei lived till 1650; the second until 1673, a date which overlaps that of Moronobu; while several painters flourished in the generation next before that of the latter, who were avowed pupils of Matabei. Moronobu himself, by the adoption of the name Kichibei, acknowledged the sources of his method, and with him begins the great popularity of the engraved painting.

A speculation as to a possible origin of colour printing in Japan may be raised on the following facts. In the year 1543, Europeans landed at the island of Tanegashima, and the propagation of Christianity soon began to flourish with great vigour under the auspices of St. Francis Xavier, whose mission dates from 1549. At the end of the century there were over 150,000 professed Christians in the Empire, including many of the leading nobles. In 1583 an embassy of four youths of high

* Reproductions of authentic paintings by Matabei illustrate the article in "Masterpieces selected from the Ukiyoye School." By S. Tajima, Tōkiō, 1909, Vol. I.

degree was sent to Rome, bearing valuable presents of the art-work of the country. It returned after some years, bringing in exchange a variety of art objects associated with Christianity, and accompanied by a new group of missionaries.

Now, it is worth while to point out, in the first place, that the European art of so-called *Chiaroscuro* engraving is in all essentials identical with that of Japanese colour printing. It was largely in vogue during the period of the Japanese Embassy to the Pope, and its subjects were to a great extent of a religious nature. Nothing is more probable than that prints of saints and similar subjects should have been among the objects brought home by the Ambassadors from Italy. The extermination of the Christians, which took place in the seventeenth century, and the destruction of all that could be discovered and identified with them, would be a sufficient reason for no imitations—even of the process—being attempted for a long while. But we know that that destruction was not complete, and that Christian tokens have survived even until our time.* It seems, therefore, not entirely vain to point out that the accidental sight of one of the Italian colour prints may have suggested the process to the Japanese, at a time sufficiently remote from the reaction against Christianity for it to have been safely followed up. Some of the gifts brought from Rome are now in the museum at Nara; whether these include prints the author is unable to say. But in the hope that further research may throw a light on this theory now advanced for the first time—he has considered it advisable to point out the possibility, and so give an indication of one direction in which future investigations may be carried on. At the same time,

* The Museum possesses a painted Japanese screen of the 16th century, representing the arrival of a Portuguese ship, which is being welcomed by Jesuit Fathers.

however, the existence in China of this process of printing in colours must not be lost sight of; and the British Museum possesses specimens of it which were brought over to Europe by Kaempfer in 1692–3. This fact strengthens the possibility of the process having been derived from Europe, and from the source mentioned above, even if by way of China; for other methods of engraving were certainly employed, in that country, by the Jesuit missionaries, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

II.

THE TORII SCHOOL.

The one man from whose influence sprang the whole art of colour printing was Hishikawa Moronobu, the son of a celebrated embroiderer, Hishikawa Mitsutaki,* from whom in youth he learned both his father's handicraft and the art of designing for it. He was born at Hoda, in the province of Awa, in 1638, and in early life worked in the same province. He soon moved to Yedo, however, and there studied the methods of the Tosa School of painting, but quickly abandoned these for the style of the new Popular School, taking the artist name of Kichibei. As Mr. Arthur Morrison points out, "Traces of his education in embroidery design, and in the Tosa style of painting are visible in most of his work, particularly in that of early date; but presently he fell under the influence of the great Kanō painter, Hanabusa Itchō, and henceforth we see distinct traces of the Kanō manner." Moronobu was, then, a painter of no mean rank; but it is his power as a designer for wood engraving that concerns us on this occasion. He illustrated a large number of books (nearly thirty, dating from 1659 to 1695, were sold in the Hayashi Sale of 1902), and, what is more to the point, produced the first broadsheets known. So far as printing goes, these were made from one block only; and the strong, simple line, superb composition, and masterly massing of the black and white, give them a rank in the history of the wood-cut which has hardly yet been fully recognised. His decorative treatment of flowers is singularly able, and

* Or Kichiyemon Michishige (Tajima).

his pattern—easily suggested and judiciously placed—often conveys a surprising effect of richness of texture. Moronobu's prints were often coloured by hand in two or three elementary tints; his subjects are generally either historical, or illustrations of the amusements of women. In his old age he became a professed recluse, shaving his head and taking the name of Yūchiku. He died in 1714,* in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

Moronobu's best pupils, Morofusa, Moroshige, and Moronaga, are variously termed sons and brothers. The Hayashi collection contained a print by the first-named, as well as examples by Moromasa, Ichikawa Riūsen and Riūshu, and Kwaigetsudō Yasutomo, all in the same manner and of about the same period.

From the tinting of prints by hand to the printing of them in colour was an easy transition; and common tradition ascribes the first issue of the latter to an artist named Kiyonobu, who died on the 28th day of the 7th month, A.D. 1729, aged 66. His personal name was Torii Chōbei. He lived first at Kiōto and then at Yedo, where he made a reputation for painting posters for the exteriors of the four chief theatres of the Shogun's capital. Indeed, the Japanese say that the bold lines and simple style of the Torii School, founded by Kiyonobu, are derived from this work of his; but as a matter of fact the same characteristics are found in that of several of his contemporaries.

The statement that Kiyonobu first made colour prints in the ordinary sense of the word, cannot yet be supported by reliable evidence. Probably the prints signed with his name are by one of his successors.†

* *Magazine of Japanese Art*, Vol. V.; and Hayashi Catalogue, p. 19. This gives 1638 as the year of his birth. Tajima suggests 1694 as the date of his death.

† Binyon (L). Cat. of Japanese and Chinese Woodcuts in the British Museum, 1916, p. xxxv.

the elder man. Portraits of the actor Ichikawa Danjūrō, painted in colours, are said to have been sold in the streets of Yedo in 1695 "for five cash" (Satow); and these are attributed to Kiyonobu. Professor Anderson quotes a tradition that "the first application of the process in Japan is said to have been by one Idzumiya Gonshirō, who lived at the end of the seventeenth century and made use of a second block to stamp certain parts of his design with *beni*, a red colour extracted from a kind of safflower." This kind of printing lasted for a number of years. The Museum possesses examples by Kiyonobu of prints from one block very richly coloured by hand, and producing a good decorative effect; as well as one also coloured by hand, by Katsukawa Terushige, who appears to have been a pupil of Kiyonobu.

Another pupil and contemporary of Kiyonobu was Okumura Masanobu (1685–1764 or 1768). He also used the names Honya Genroku Gempachi, Bunkaku, Kwammiō, Bai-ō Hōgetsudō, and Tanchōsai, and produced prints in each of the three methods just described. A series in the Museum includes an interesting specimen in white line on black ground, which appears to have been, after the Chinese fashion, a rubbing from engraved stone. Okumura Masanobu frequently signed *Yamato Yeshi* or *Yamato-no-gwako* (Japanese painter), as well as his name. He made many prints coloured with lacquer; is claimed to have been the first to make *Yedo-ye* (Yedo prints); and kept a book shop at Shiochō, Yedo.

Torii Kiyomasu is said to have been a son of Kiyonobu, but Mr. Arthur Morrison and Mr. Fenollosa both think there is reason to consider him a younger brother. His birth is placed variously in 1679 and 1702, and he died in Hōreki 13 (A.D. 1763). Beyond this and the fact that he lived at Naniwa-chō, Yedo, was the recognised head of the school (with the title Torii Second) after the death of its founder; and also

used the name Kiyonobu II., we have no information. His work is rare, and includes prints in black, black and red, and colours. He illustrated books, of which some dating from 1712 to 1747 are known. His style is very similar to that of Kiyonobu.

Other pupils of the latter are Kiyotada, Kiyoaki, Kiyoshige, and Hanekawa Chinchō (also called Okinobu, A.D. 1679–1754).

Of this generation also were Okumura Toshinobu, son of Okumura Masanobu, and a graceful draughtsman; and Nishimura Shigenaga, who is said by different authorities to have been either the son or the father of Nishimura Shigenobu, but was almost certainly the former. He lived from 1697 to 1756 (Hayashi Catalogue), and used the names Magosaburō and Senkwadō. Shigenaga is related to have kept a tea-house at Tōri Aburachō in Yedo, and afterwards to have moved to Kanda, where he became a publisher and had many pupils, some of whom—notably Harunobu—are of great importance.

The third master of the Torii, Kiyomitsu, is said to have been a son of Kiyomasu. His private name was Hanzō; he was born in 1735, and lived at Naniwa-chō, Yedo. He is credited with the idea of using mother-of-pearl to represent the moon, in theatrical posters. His work is generally simple in line, even to severity. The colours used are few; as a rule, two or three only, rose and a pale green, being the favourites. He sometimes employed the charming *Hosoye* form (Hayashi Catalogue, 263), and also illustrated a few books, notably *Daruma Shichoki* (1760) and some collections of theatrical stories and songs (1763–1779). He died in 1785. The student must be cautioned against later prints signed by his name which are the work of Kiyomine and Kiyomitsu III. (see p. 16). They are easily to be distinguished by a fuller palette of colours and more advanced

technique than those of the first of the name. One by the former is reproduced on Pl. xxvii., and should form a useful guide. Kiyotsune was a pupil of this artist, and not of Kiyonobu, as sometimes asserted. He illustrated some books in colour, of which the Museum collection contains one, "The Twenty-four Examples of Filial Piety." Other pupils were Morotada, Kiyotoshi, two named Kiyohide, and Kiyomitsu II.

The next in succession, and one of the greatest in merit, of the Torii School, is Kiyonaga. He was born in 1742, his father being a publisher called Shirokiya Ichibei, and his family names Sekiguchi, Ichibei and Shinsuke. His master was Torii Kiyomitsu, with whom he collaborated in at least one book in 1776; and on the death of the latter, in 1785, he formally attained the rank of the Fourth Torii, a dignity of which the signification is not merely, as Mr. Hayashi says, that he was of the fourth generation, but that he was the recognised master fourth in succession of the members of the school. Kiyonaga lived at Yedo in the Honzeimoku-chō district; and had a great reputation among the lower orders for his portraits of actors and beautiful women, his pictures of warriors, and especially his illustrated books. In Japan the most popular of the latter were *Yehon Buyu Kongo Rikishi* and *Yehon Monomigaoka* (1785); but among others may be mentioned *Temari Uta* (1777), *Imamukashi Bakemono Oyadama* (1780), *Kamikudzu Minouye-banashi* (1780), *Asahina Karako Asobi* (1781), *Bakemono Yutsumino Hachinoki* (1780), *Iro Iigoku* (1791), *Kagaya Tatoya*, and *Mitsuno Asa* (1787), the latter containing seven plates in colours. Kiyonaga died in 1815, age 74 (or 64 as stated in another account).

The work of Kiyonaga is of great importance, and his influence is strongly seen in most of his later contemporaries. From the artistic point of view he is the greatest of the Torii. He had the widest range of

subject of any of them, and also used a fuller palette of colours than either of his predecessors. One class of prints by him is somewhat grotesque in effect, and strong, even crude, in colouring; but others, and those the best, are full of charm and delicacy, and invariably harmonious. An important print in the Museum (E. 16 —'95) deserves special attention. It is a portrait of a richly dressed Yoshiwara woman, Segawa of the House called Matsubaya, with the two attendants belonging to her rank. The impression is a remarkable one, printed on specially thick paper, and bears the seal of a famous publisher, *Yeijudo of Yedo*. This belongs to his later period, his earlier work being more akin to that of Harunobu, though with a distinct character of its own. A view, coloured by hand, of the Suruga Street of Yedo is described in the Hayashi Catalogue (No. 668) as the largest known, its dimensions being 70 × 48 centimetres. This is dated 1780. Another example in the same catalogue bears the date 1801. Kiyonaga made one or two *surimono*, but they are very seldom met with. He also produced a large number of theatre programmes, of which specimens dated 1785, 1786, 1795, and 1799, have been noted. Kiyomasa was a son* and Kiyohiro a pupil of Kiyonaga, as probably was Kiyokuni (a contemporary of Toyokuni).

The fifth master of the Torii School was Kiyomine, who is said by one Japanese authority to have been the grandson of Kiyomitsu; but by others (and probably with more justice) to have married the grand-daughter of that artist. His family name was Shōnosuke, and he dwelt first at Sumiyoshi-chō and afterwards at Shinidzumichō in Yedo; studying first under Kiyonaga, but adopting later the earlier style of Toyokuni I. During the periods Bunkwa and Bunsei (A.D. 1804–1829), he

* In the Leicester Harmsworth Collection there is a print signed "Torii Kiyomasa son of Kiyonaga."

confined himself to the production of *nishikiye*, and illustrated books which at the time were very popular. On the death of Kiyonaga, in 1815, he made many theatrical posters and programmes, continuing, in fact, his master's business in this respect; at the same time, he changed his name to Kiyomitsu, after which he made few colour prints, though the Museum is fortunate enough to possess one of these, figured on Pl. xxvii. Kiyomine lived for a long time after, dying in 1868 on the 21st day of the 11th month at the age of eighty-two. Kiyomine's work is not common. It retains few of the characteristics of his school, but is always graceful in composition and harmonious in colour. He was succeeded by his son Kiyofusa, the sixth and last of the Torii masters, who was born on the 14th day of the 12th month, Tempō 3rd (A.D. 1832). On the death of his father he took the name of Kiyomitsu III. We cannot say anything about his work. He died in 1892, on the 19th day of the 5th month, and is buried at the Hōsei Temple, Asakusa-ku Minami Matsuiyama-chō. Kiyosada was a pupil of Kiyomine and Kunisada. His prints are unimportant. He died in 1901, and his son, Mr. Kiyotada Torii, still paints.

The Torii form an extremely interesting group. Their work is mainly theatrical; indeed, the statement given above in reference to Kiyomine seems to imply that the head of the school for the time being held a monopoly of it. They appear to have taken fewer pupils than was common towards the end of the period covered by them, doubtless for the above reason.

III.

HARUNOBU AND HIS PUPILS WITH THEIR CONTEMPORARIES.

As stated in the last chapter, Nishimura Shigenaga had many pupils, and among them none attained greater fame than Harunobu. The early history of this artist is quite unknown, except that he was a seller of tooth-brushes. His illustrated books are numerous, and the first of which the author has been able to find a record is the *Yehon Kokin-ran*, published at Yedo in 1762. Almost all that can otherwise be said of him is that for some unexplained reason his work was entirely done in the last decade or so of his life. He is said by M. Hayashi to have been born in 1718, and to have died in 1770; but another Japanese authority, with greater accuracy, assures us that the exact date of his death was the 15th day of the 6th month of Meiwa 7 (A.D. 1770), and that his age was then forty-six years.* His family name was Suzuki; he seems also to have occasionally signed Kiōsen, and a writer in the *Kokkwa*† states that he was also called Koriūsai; while still another account says that he used the two first syllables only of that name (Koriū), which certainly appear on one set of prints in a seal. The statement is also made that he only began to draw in 1764, in spite of the fact that, as we have already seen, he was illustrating books two years earlier; but the former date may refer to his production of broadsheets only. A seal-date

* Vol. V., in a note to plate 4.

† The compilers of the Catalogue of the Japan British Exhibition accept the dates 1718–1770.

equivalent to A.D. 1765 has been noted on one of his prints. He lived in Yedo, at Yonezawa-chō, Riōgōku.

Harunobu, with several of the Japanese writers on the Ukiyoye School, has the credit of having invented *nishikiye*. This is, of course, untrue, but it probably rests on the grounds that he certainly introduced many improvements into the process, and greatly popularised prints of this class; while it may be that the term *Adzuma Nishikiye* was first applied to the work from his studio. It is recorded that his prints were widely sought for during the period Meiwa (A.D. 1764–1772), and that at the same time New Year's *surimono*, with five or six printings, were first made, though we are not definitely told that this was done by Harunobu himself.

The quality of Harunobu's work is very high and meets with great favour among European collectors. He seems not to have painted actors, confining himself almost entirely to pictures of women. To this day the fame of one set of these latter holds good, portraits of the Four Famous Beauties, Ōnami and Ōmitsu, dancers of the Shintō Temple of Yūshima Tenjin, Ōsen of the Kagiya tea-house at Yanaka, Kasamori Temple, and Ōfuji of the Yanagiya house, which were published about the year 1769. Characteristic colours used by him are a fine apple-green and a deep red. The drawing of his figures is graceful, the drapery simple but expressive, the accessories few, and ornament rarely insisted on. The lines of the key-block are light, the blacks being massed judiciously, but without emphasis. Some of Harunobu's best pieces are of the long, narrow form called *hashirakake*, made as a decoration for the posts of a living room, though he generally used a nearly square proportion smaller than that of later artists.

Harunobu founded a school, though it was of short duration, the technical superiority of Kiyonaga being

probably the cause of this. The principal member of it was an artist, the particulars of whose life are still somewhat obscure, Koriūsai. Isoda Koriūsai, who was also called Shōbei, and Masakatsu Haruhiro, was of higher social standing than the majority of colour print designers, being of the *samurai* class, and a retainer (at one time) of the noble Tsuchiya family at Ogawa-machi, Yedo. He was a fellow student with Harunobu, under Nishimura Shigenaga, and made his prints at Yagembori, Nihombashi, Yedo, which gave him the nickname, occasionally found on his paintings, *Toto Yagembori Inshi* (the retired scholar, of Yagembori, Yedo). He painted many pictures in a style very like that of Harunobu, even in the smallest details; so much so, indeed, that apart from the signature they can sometimes hardly be distinguished therefrom.

Some confusion has arisen by reason of the conflicting statements of the Japanese on the subject of Koriūsai. Thus the fact that many of his prints are signed simply *Koriu*, has given one writer reason for saying that he was identical with Harunobu. This now appears to be without foundation; but the difficulty is hardly solved by another proposition that there were two contemporary artists of the same name, one the *samurai*, whose origin is mentioned above, the other a man of lower social rank. It is certain that the paintings signed *Koriu* are not all by Harunobu. Whether an undoubted difference between two classes of the prints is to be accounted for by the existence of two artists, or by a change of style on the part of one, must remain a matter of some uncertainty. The author favours the latter theory, and in some of the later prints a distinguished authority, Mr. Arthur Morrison, sees evidences of the influence of Kitao Shigemasa. Koriūsai, it should be said, gained the honorific title of *Hokkio*.

The work of this painter, taking it as that of one man, is more remarkable for its power of composition

than for any other quality. Probably no colour print maker succeeded better with the difficult proportions of the *hashirakake*. And at the same time no predecessor of Koriūsai exhibits a bolder and more delightful rendering of natural objects. His birds are splendid, one set of *surimono* being unequalled in this respect. In colour he displays a peculiar fondness for a very characteristic red, which he uses with great judgment and effect. One Japanese writer says that the *samurai* Koriūsai died in 1771 ; but this doubtless refers to Harunobu, who seems to have used the name chiefly for literary purposes ; a fact which must be taken for what it is worth as tending to support the theory that there were two artists of the name ; on the other hand, we have notes of three books illustrated by Koriūsai, one undated, and the others published in 1779 and 1781 respectively. Considering the whole of the work thus signed, the latter would seem to be about the last date to which prints can be ascribed.

Harushige, a reputed son and pupil of Harunobu, was an artist of great skill, and other pupils were Fujinobu, Komai Yoshinobu (who also studied under Shigenaga), Harutsugu, Masunobu, Ujimasa, and Shiba Kōkan.

The last named is a personage of some interest. He is variously said to have used the names in earlier life of Shigenobu* and Shigeharu.† He also has been called a son of Harunobu, and was undoubtedly his pupil ; and after his death used the appellation Harunobu II. He also joined Tani Bunchō ; and it is recorded that it was his inferiority to the other students under the famous painter that caused him to leave that master and go to Nagasaki, where he acquired something of the European manner of drawing, and also the arts of copper-plate engraving (of which the museum possesses specimens from his hand), and the rudiments of perspective, both of which

* *Magazine of Japanese Art*, Vol. I. † *Idem*, Vol. III.

he imparted to Hokusai. In his book, "The Confessions of Kōkan," he says that he first studied under the painter Kanō Koshin, but deeming the Japanese inferior to the Chinese style, he then worked at the latter. Afterwards he attached himself to Harunobu, and candidly admits forging his prints systematically. His name is assumed, and is derived from those of two rivers in his native province; other signatures and names are Shun, Shumpō, Fugen Dōjin, Kungaku, Katsusaburō, and Magodayū. He was born in 1747, and died in 1818, on the 21st day of the 10th month, after having drawn his own portrait and inscribed it with a poem, "Kōkan dies because he is very old: to the common world (*ukiyo*) he leaves a common drawing (*ukiyo-ye*)."

At this point the first reference becomes necessary to the question of forgery. We have just seen that there is absolute proof that Harunobu was paid this compliment; and perhaps none of the artists with whom this volume deals suffered from it to a greater extent, with the sole exception of Utamaro. And it must be said that many of the forgeries are of quite recent date. These can be detected by an abnormal freshness and some crudity of colour. Harunobu also has been considerably reprinted; two impressions from one block in the Museum (E. 4367—'97) and (E. 1433—'98) give useful evidence of this. As far as Kōkan's imitations are concerned, the detection of them must be a matter of judgment on the part of the amateur. In some are European tendencies which easily stamp them; others are more difficult to classify.

Contemporary with the pupils of Harunobu, although not directly under his influence, were several artists of note. Kitao Shigemasa, whose family name was Kitabatake Susuke, and other appellations, Kosuisai and Kwaran, was born at Yedo. He worked first of all for a bookseller, Sawaraya Mohei, and then on his own account at

Ōdemmachō and Negishi Ōtsukamura. He is said by M. Hayashi to have been a pupil of Harunobu, but by other writers, of Shigenaga, which appears more likely. He painted flowers, birds, and warriors with great skill, and always with high quality, and died in the 2nd month of Bunsei 2 (A.D. 1819) at the age of eighty-one.

Kitao Masanobu was a pupil of Shigemasa. His many names were Iwase Haida, Kiōya Denzō, Sei, Hakkei, Yusei, Santo-an, Seisai, Sei-se-rōjin, and others which follow. He was born on the 18th day of the 8th month of Hōreki 11 (A.D. 1761) at Kibamachi, Fukagawa, Yedo, at the house of a pawnbroker named Iseya. When a child he was nicknamed Jintarō; and after he grew up he lived at Ginza, Kiōbashi ward, where he sold first tobacco and pipes, and then medicines. As an art student he signed himself Rissai Masanobu. This small shopkeeper who had taken to painting was also of much account among his fellows as an author. His comic poems, written under the *nom de plume* of Migaru-no-Orisuke, were in great demand, and as a novelist he is still famous as Kiōden. In his old age he gave up art and confined himself to authorship. He died on the 7th day of the 9th month of Bunkwa 13 (A.D. 1816) in his fifty-sixth year, and was buried in the Yekoin Temple, Ryōgoku, Yedo.

Masanobu illustrated several books printed in colours and of great beauty. One of these, *Seiro meikun Jihitsushu*, a fine copy of which is in the Museum, is perhaps one of the best specimens of this application of the art in existence. He also made a few very rare colour prints of a high standard of merit, besides the illustrations to several of his own novels. Books with engravings after his designs are found with dates from 1784 to 1803.

Keisai Kitao Masayoshi, another pupil of Shigemasa (whose son he is said, with some uncertainty, to have

been), was also called Sankō, his personal name being Kuwagata Sanjirō. He was first instructed in the Kanō style, and that of the great painter and lacquerer Kōrin.* Though he made a few colour prints, also of great merit and rarity, he is chiefly known as a book illustrator of surprising directness and originality, after 1799 using the signature, Keisai Jōshin. In his old age he entered the service of a Matsudaira Daimiō, and never worked again in the Ukiyoye style, dying on the 21st day of the 3rd month of Bunsei 7 (A.D. 1824); he was born in 1761.

The third of this group of artists was Ihei Shōsadō, who signed his prints Kubo Shunman. He lived at Tomimatsu-chō, Kanda, and afterwards at Koden-ma-chō, Yedo. His first master was Kajitori Nahiko, who gave him his name. It is to be noted, however, that this is not as a rule written with the same character *Shun* as was used by Shunshō and his school. Shunman, indeed, signed a few prints in this way; but, discovering that the natural inference was drawn therefrom that he was a pupil of that artist, he changed his method of writing his name, using a different character of the same value. Thus his signature has been incorrectly read as Toshimitsu, and confusion has thereby arisen. Shunman afterwards worked under Shigemasa, but shows little of his style, having, as Mr. Morrison points out, come much more under the all-pervading influence of Kiyonaga. He also worked with Masanobu. Shunman was a writer of note, especially indulging in comic poems, for which he adopted the *nom de plume* of Nandakashiran ("I do not know what it is"). He painted with his left hand. He was born in 1757, and died on the 20th day of the 9th month, Bunsei 3 (A.D. 1820). Prints by Shunman are singularly delicate, both in colour and design. He has much of the quality of the old masters of Japanese art, and besides

* Mr. Morrison says he worked under Tani Bunchō.

his *surimono*, elsewhere referred to, the student should pay particular attention to his flower pieces. One print in the Museum (E. 34—1902) is a superb example of him at his best, and a noteworthy detail of it is the use of red outlines for the unclothed portions of his figures. Several books illustrated by him appeared between 1795 and 1815.

A contemporary of Harunobu, who founded a school of the first importance, was Ishikawa Toyonobu (1711–1785), who was a pupil of Shigenaga. Toyonobu's prints are a connecting link between the old style and the new. His early work is akin to that of the Torii, and we have, from his brush, pictures illuminated in colours, printed with red only ; and later specimens made under the influence of the Hárunobu School. He also signed Ishikawa Shūha.

Toyonobu had three pupils, Ishikawa Toyomasa, who used a palette similar to that of Harunobu, and whose chief work is a set of twelve prints of children's games for the months of the year (E. 1434-1445—'98) which are pleasant in feeling, but with some crudeness of drawing ; Utagawa Toyonobu, who died young, and Utagawa Toyoharu (1734–1813), whose family name was Mimmaya Chōsaburō, and who also first used a signature frequently met with among his followers, Ichiriūsai. Toyoharu, the leader of the important group which forms the subject of a later chapter (Chapter V.), was an artist of no little power and versatility. He made several prints in what the Japanese call the Dutch style—that is, which show recognisable traces of European influence—one of which, unsigned, is in the Museum ; and his colour is always fresh and harmonious. His pupils and their work belong to the next generation. He is said by M. Hayashi to have been a pupil of Nishimura Shigenaga.

The last of the men of this epoch—perhaps the greatest in the history of the art, and certainly that which saw

its technique pushed to the ultimate possibilities of its development—was Katsukawa Shunshō. Of his life we have very few details. He was called Katsu Miyagawa—shortened into Katsukawa—and also Yūsuke, Yūji and Ririn. In addition he used the name Shuntei. During the period Meiwa (A.D. 1764–1771) he lived at the house of the publisher Hayashi Hichiyemon at Ningiō-chō (Yedo), and in 1764 published the set of portraits of the five actors called *Gonin Otoko*, which were neither very good nor very popular; though other work executed at this time had a great success. Although he is generally said to have been a pupil of Miyagawa Shunsui, some Japanese authorities prefer to consider him as a disciple of Sūkoku, a pupil of Itchō, with whose style much of Shunshō's work has undeniable affinity. His long figures of this class, drawn with a fine line and very well engraved, (says a Japanese authority) first gained the title of *Adzuma Nishikiye* (brocade pictures of Yedo).* M. Hayashi gives the date of Shunshō's birth as 1726, and of his death as 1790; but the latter must be incorrect, as the artist is now known to have been in his sixty-seventh year when he died on the 8th day of the 12th month in Kwansei 4 (A.D. 1792). He was buried at the Saifukuji Temple at Asakusa, under the Buddhistic name of Shōyō Shunshō Shinshi. Shunshō often used a seal in shape like a jar, and this obtained the nick-name *Tsubo* (jar), which was continued to his pupil Shunkō. Shunshō had formerly studied that favourite art of the Japanese, caligraphy, learning the style of Itchō under Hokoya. He produced the theatrical pictures for which he was renowned during the period 1764–1780, and also made some most charming book illustrations of which the *Kobi no Tsubo* (1770), a collection of portraits of actors; *Seiro Bijin Awase Kagami* (1776), the

* Though, as we have seen, this honour is also credited to Harunobu.

best known and most justly admired of his productions of this character, and the *Nishiki Hiakunin Isshu,* "The Hundred Poets and their Poems in Brocade" (1775), are the best. These are beautifully and delicately drawn and coloured, and take rank with the finest work of their kind.

In his latter prints Shunshō shows a fondness for a characteristic colour scheme, in which a deep orange red and a bright yellow are prominent; and in these prints also we see a distinctive, and to our eyes somewhat harsh, drawing of the faces and figures of actors which, although forcible and full of the expression of action, is hardly in accord with European canons of beauty; his paintings, however, are not open to this criticism. It became, nevertheless, a distinguishing mark of his followers, and, by way of a few pupils, culminated in the somewhat unintelligent methods of the Ōsaka group of artists. Shunshō made no prints in his old age, and his few paintings of that time were, Mr. Morrison thinks, only done for pleasure. Of Shunshō's master, Miyakawa or Katsukawa Shunsui, it may be said that he was a son of the great painter of the Ukiyoye School, Miyakawa Chōshun. He made a few prints, and is represented in the Museum collection. It is related that he, as a result of a quarrel with the painter Kanō Haruyoshi, killed four of his relations, for which he was sentenced to death, and Chōshun, who was implicated, to exile (C. 1750–51). Katsukawa Shinsai was a fellow student with Shunsui.

Shunshō was responsible for the training of a notable group of pupils. The most important of these, Shunrō (Hokusai), forms the subject of Chapter VI. Of the others, Shunkō was the most closely allied with his master in style. This artist was also called Shun-ō and Ko-tsubo, and he also used the jar-shaped seal of his master Shunshō. His dwelling was at Yedo in the Hasegawa-chō. When about forty-five or forty-six years

of age a severe attack of palsy caused a cessation of his work; he henceforth lived as a recluse at Azabu, in the Temple of Zempuku. He recovered to some extent, though for the remainder of his career he drew with his left hand only. He died in 1827. Shunkō must not be confused with a later painter of the same name (but written differently), Shunkō II., a pupil of Shunyei, who was better known as Shunsen. (See below, p. 83.)

The work of Shunkō is extremely like the later productions of his master, and, indeed, can with difficulty be distinguished therefrom. There is no doubt that they collaborated to a considerable extent. His best prints belong to the period Kwansei (A.D. 1789–1801). One in the Hayashi collection is dated 1790. Shunkō, as well as his master, illustrated in colours a volume of the "Hundred Poets," published in 1795, and engraved by Inouye Jihei. This subject was evidently a favourite with the Katsukawas, for we have also a similar publication by another pupil of Shunshō, Shunjō, who is known to have been at work as early as 1782. Other pupils of lesser note are named below, the dates being those of the publication of illustrated books by them—the only indication available of their period: Rantokusai Shundō (1790), Shunsensai (1797), Shunki, Shunkiō, Shunrin (1784), Shunkwaku, Shunzō, Shunyen, Shuntoku, Shungyoku, Shun-en, and Shunsui II.

One of the strongest of Shunshō's pupils was Kintokusai Shunyei of the Isoda family, who was born at Shinidzumichō Shinmichi, in the year Meiwa 5 (A.D. 1768*), and began to practise his craft when still a boy. He gained considerable renown for portraits of actors and comic pictures, in a style to which his admirers among the lower classes of Japan gave the name *Kintoku*. He himself was also called Kinjirō and Kutokusai. Little

* M. Hayashi says 1762, but the above is probably more correct.

is known of his life save that he was a clever musician, and especially an excellent player on the *samisen*. He died on the 26th day of the 7th month of Bunsei 2 (A.D. 1819), at the age of fifty-two. Shunyei became to a great extent independent of his master. His prints are forcibly drawn and good in colour, and he was the leader of a small group of colour-print makers, who, in spite of their nominal attachment to the Katsukawas, have little or nothing in common with their style. Of these, Katsukawa Shunzan, of whom nothing is at present known but his work, is the most able. He derives his style largely from Kiyonaga, whom he sometimes approaches closely in merit; he drew women very gracefully, and always with good colour, but seems to have avoided the theatrical class of subjects. He also executed some landscapes, of which a set of the Eight Views of Lake Biwa is in the Museum. Shunzan is said to have studied under Shunshō as well as under Shunyei. He was at work in 1810, when he published a set of "Amusements of Children at the Five Festivals," one of which is dated in that year. The Museum contains examples of his original drawings.

Another pupil was Shunkō II., who changed his name to that by which he is much better known, Shunsen, a pupil of the painter of the Chinese School, Tsutsumi Tōrin, from which he derived another name, Shunrin; he was also called Kashōsai. Early prints by Shunsen signed Shunkō have been noted. Another with the signature "Shunsen, formerly Shunkō," is in the Museum; this marks the time of the change of name, and shows that this must have occurred somewhat late in his life; most of his prints were produced thereafter. He is more fully referred to in his appropriate sequence, at page 83.

Another pupil of Shunyei was Yamaguchi Chōjūrō, who was also called Shōkōsai Shōku and Siuhō Itsujin, but is known to us by his artist-name, Shuntei. He

lived at Idzumi-chō, Yedo; but, owing partly to illness and partly to systematic indulgence in drink, his production of prints was not as great as one would have expected, considering that of his contemporaries. His famous work is an illustrated history of the Drama, *Kabuki Nendaiku*, and his prints generally represent wrestlers, warriors, and military subjects, drawn with some skill and vigour, but curiously low in tone as regards colour. Most of them were published by Murataya. He died on the 3rd day of the 8th month of Bunsei 3 (A.D. 1820), at the age of fifty-one, and his broadsheets almost all belong to the last twenty years of his life.* His influence is perhaps to be traced in the work of Kuniyoshi and his pupils.

Certain other pupils of Shunyei settled at Ōsaka, and helped to form the small separate school of that place, dealt with in Chapter VII.

We have left till last the most important pupil of Shunshō (next to Hokusai), namely Shunchō, who held also the names Kichizayemon, Chūrinsha, Tōshiyen. In spite of his training, Shunchō must be classed with Kiyonaga, whom he sometimes copied, rather than with his own master. Sometimes he approaches most closely to the former, though here and there one sees hints of a certain hardness in the drawing of the face which belongs to Shunshō; and the print illustrating him has been selected because it has the characteristics of both. Shunchō is a great colourist, and a special feature of his more important prints is the broad and harmonious treatment of the landscape backgrounds. His dates of birth and death are unknown; but we know him to have been at work as early as 1786 and as late as 1803. In the period Bunkwa (A.D. 1804–18) he stopped painting altogether, changing his name to Shunchō (a different character) Kissadō. He did a certain amount of book illustration,

* A 3-sheet print, the "Battle of Awaza" bears the date 1807.

especially small novelettes called *Kusazoshi*, with text and illustration on one page. He is said to have been still living in 1821.

A somewhat independent artist of this group was Ippitsusai Bunchō (who must not be confused with the painter). He was a pupil of Ishikawa Takamoto, and made many designs for colour prints, especially of theatrical subjects: a well-known one being a portrait of the actor, Yaozō II. He received the title of *Hokkio*. He must have been nearly contemporary with Harunobu, with whose technique his work has a great deal in common; and none of his prints appeared after A.D. 1801–03.

IV.

UTAMARO, YEISHI AND YEIZAN.

The last chapter brought the history of the art of colour printing up to its greatest point of technical achievement; the present is to deal with three of the artists who took the fullest advantage thereof; and, in the case of the latter, saw the beginning of the period of decadence which followed.

With the exception of Hokusai, and possibly Hiroshige I., no painter of the popular school is so well known to Europeans as Utamaro; and the fame of the latter only was, in this respect, contemporary with him. For, during his lifetime, his prints were well known to, and in great request by, the Dutch at Nagasaki; and from the same port they were also sent in large quantities to China. In the collections of M. Isaac Titsingh, who died at Paris in 1812, after having for fourteen years been the chief of the Dutch settlement at Nagasaki, are several mentions of "engravings printed in colours . . on separate sheets, ten inches wide and one foot two inches nine lines in height, representing Japanese ladies in various dresses"; and there is little doubt that prints by Utamaro are referred to. It would be interesting to be able to trace this collection, but no one has yet succeeded in so doing.* Still, it must always be possible that some of these prints, with authentic evidence of their early importation, should yet be found in Holland.

* Collections belonging to members of the Titsingh family have since been sold at Amsterdam.

Utamaro was born at Kawagoye, in the province of Musashi or Bōshū, in 1754. He has been called the son and was certainly the pupil of a painter of repute, Toriyama Sekiyen (Toyofusa), of the Kanō School, pupil of Kanō Chikanobu, a son of Tsunenobu (d. 1788), but this statement must now be discarded.* Utamaro traced his descent from the old historical family of the Minamoto, and so, by way of heritage, started with greater possibilities of refinement than almost any of his fellows. His personal name was Yūsuke, that of his family, Kitagawa, and he was called Murasakiya, Yentaisai and Yemboku; he first used the signature Toriyama Toyoaki derived from his master. For some time he lived with the publisher, Tsutaya Juzaburō. He studied the Kanō style of painting, and then that of his father, who had developed a certain independence of method; but soon, in his colour prints, achieved a distinct style of his own. In 1804 he suffered a term of imprisonment for a print representing the Taikō engaged in dissipation, which was interpreted as a libel on the Shōgun Iyenari. He died on the 3rd day of the 5th month of 1806, at the age of fifty-three years; and is buried at the Senkō-ji temple.

There are several portraits of Utamaro extant; reference may be made to two by himself, one in which he is represented as painting a gigantic *Ho*-ō bird, to the amusement of several women of the Yoshiwara, who watch him from the door, and another which depicts him drinking with women of the same class; in both he is drawn as a young and slender man, though neither is in his early style. But the most interesting is a *kakemono* by Chōbunsai Yeishi (in the collection of Mr. Arthur Morrison),† showing him as he must have been just before he died—fat, heavy-eyed, and sensual—an evident masterpiece of realism.

* J. J. O'Brien Sexton in Japan Soc. Trans. XIX, p. 91.

† Now in the British Museum (1913).

Utamaro achieved, as we have already said, enormous popularity. He drew some few portraits of actors—in the style, they say, of Harunobu—made a *surimono* here and there, and illustrated many books. Of the books, his earliest, under the signature Kitagawa Toyo-akira, was published at Yedo in 1776–77, a date which fixes in one direction his use of his family name. More important from the artistic point of view are the beautiful volumes in colour of the *Seiro Nenju Gioji*, the "Yoshiwara all the Year Round," drawn with the assistance of his pupils Kikumaro, Hidemaro and Takimaro, the text by Juppensha Ikku (with whom Utamaro quarrelled as to the respective merits of the writing and the illustrations), engraved by Fuji Katsumune, printed by Kwakushōdō Tōyemon, and published in 1804 by Kadzusaya Jūsuke (Ju-ō) of Yedo, near the Nihom-bashi. Of the others, the Book of Insects was engraved by Fuji Kazumune, and published by Tsutaya Jūzaburō in 1788, with a preface by Toriyama Sekiyen, in which the latter speaks of the delight of Utamaro as a child in catching and examining insects, and the fear that he might develop a habit of injuring or killing them.* Certain delightful volumes, each with five exquisitely printed plates, are also worth noting. Of these the Museum possesses two, *Kiogetsu-bo* (literally, "Full crazy moon,") published in 1789, and a set of five methods of celebrating the New Year. Reference has already been made to Utamaro's sojourn with the publisher, Tsutaya Jūzaburō, before he took a house of his own in the Kanda district of Yedo. Some indication of the dates of this may be found in those of volumes published by the famous dealer, which range from 1786 to 1790, after which other names of booksellers appear. Towards the end of his life, the demand for work from his hand became so great that it is said to have been his

* In the V. & A. Museum.

habit to shut himself in his room, cover the floor with sheets of paper, and pass from one to the other with the utmost rapidity as he completed a sketch on each.

As a painter, Utamaro is given a certain rank by Japanese critics, though it is, of course, not the highest. A modern tendency among them is to admire his painting of landscape, and that of insects and plants, in which affinities to the Maruyama and Shijō Schools are seen. But it is for his colour prints that he has always received the highest praise from foreigners. These of his best period (Anyei and Temmei, 1722–88), when he gained the title *Ukiyoye Chuko-no-so*, "Great Master of Ukiyo Painting," have a rare combination of dignity, delicacy of drawing, and harmony of colour; and there is no exaggeration in Mr. Morrison's judgment that as a "painter of the human figure in an exquisitely synthetic convention, Utamaro has few rivals, East or West." But to appreciate this, the convention must not only be insisted on, it must be frankly accepted and understood.

In his later years Utamaro's popularity gained him many competitors in his own style, and none more powerful than the first Toyokuni. A story bearing on this is told, how a certain amateur of colour prints travelled from Uwashiro, in Bōshū province, to Nagasaki, where he saw and much admired Utamaro's work; thence he passed to Yedo, and, after visiting Toyokuni, has placed on record his preference for the former artist. This occurred about the time of the death of the latter, probably just after that event. This volume is hardly the place for a repetition of an estimate of the relative merits of these two men, which I have already given in "Japanese Illustration." It must suffice to remark that Toyokuni undoubtedly forged imitations of Utamaro's prints, signature and all, as also

did Shunsen, among others. These prints were published by a fan maker named Hori-ichō, about the year 1807. One interesting specimen in the Museum, in Utamaro's later style, has the signature of Toyokuni near the margin, which at some time has evidently been covered, and that of Utamaro added closer in. It may be said that in his signed work, Toyokuni shows again and again that he could easily approach the standard of his rival's later prints, which alone he seems to have copied. Another copyist, whose whole efforts were devoted to this branch of the trade, was Yukimachi, a pupil of Koikawa Harumachi (the reading Shunchō for the latter name is incorrect), who had been a fellow student with Utamaro under Toriyama Sekiyen. After his death this man married Utamaro's widow, and from his house in Bakuro-chō, issued, between 1806 and 1820, both forgeries of Utamaro's prints and completions of others left unfinished by him. He is called Utamaro II., but is responsible for a portion only of the inferior efforts with the master's signature. Afterwards he changed his name to Kitagawa Tetsugorō, and died between 1830 and 1843, probably about the year 1835. Besides the artists mentioned above, a large number of alleged Utamaro prints were either made by his pupils, or were the rather more legitimate production of Utamaro's workshop at large ; for there is no doubt that the practice—not unknown to European painters of the first rank—of putting the master's signature to everything produced under his direction, obtained largely among the later makers of *nishikiye.*

Of the pupils of Utamaro, the chief was Kikumaro, who lived at Kodemma-chō, Yedo. His own name was Kitagawa Rokusaburō, and his later colour prints, after about the year 1796, are signed Tsukimaro. He worked during the periods Kwansei to Bunsei (A.D. 1789-1829), afterwards abandoning altogether the Ukiyoye style and

taking the name Kansetsu. His prints are more limited in scope than those of his master, and less refined in colour, obviously clever exercises in themes set for him by a higher genius. A later artist called himself Kikumaro II.

Kikumaro's son, Yukimaro, only followed the calling of his father during his early years, becoming then an author. His prints are very rare, but in the Hayashi Collection (No. 1674) was a book illustrated by him in 1788.

Yoshimaro was another pupil of Kikumaro, who lived at Yedo, on the bank of the river at Shin-nori-mono-chō. At the beginning of Bunsei (A.D. 1818–29) he took the name of Kitao Shigemasa III.

Hidemaro, also pupil of Utamaro, made *nishikiye* only during the period Bunkwa (A.D. 1804–18). All we know of him is that he lived at Yedo in the Shitaya district, in front of the Shintō Temple Yanagi-no-Inari. Contemporary with him was Shikimaro (Tokeirin Hei-yemon), who worked at Yedo, Koishikawa Suidōbashi, and died in the period of Bunkwa. Kitamaro, Michimaro, Toshimaro, Hanamaro, and Isomaro were all pupils of the founder of the school.

Toriyama Sekiyen trained one other pupil of the first order in his generation, Shikō, who also signed Chōki and Yeishōsai. Little is known of him, and his prints, especially his few landscapes, are rare; but such as we possess are exquisite in colour and composition. Shikō was eminently a master of the difficult *hashirakake* form; and of this the Museum is fortunate enough to have excellent specimens. He worked in the period 1772–1805. It has been said by some writers that Shikō and Chōki were two individuals, but there now appears to be no foundation for the statement, and the identity is absolutely borne out by a comparison of prints with each signature. This artist

painted some good landscapes, and, in 1800, published *Ikebana Tebiki Gusa*, a Manual of Flower Arrangement in five volumes.*

Closely akin to, in spirit, if differing somewhat in manner from Utamaro and his followers, was the head of another and less numerous group, which for some inexplicable reason has never had quite its vogue among Europeans. Yeishi was the founder of a peculiarly graceful and effective style in colour prints—in the small sense, one might say, of a school. He was of good family, one of the few men of the Ukiyoye School who would claim this distinction; for he came of a *samurai* family belonging to the great Fujiwara clan, in the service of the Tokugawa Government, his personal name being Hosoda Tokitomi. Hence he and his followers are known as the Hosoda School. He adopted the *nom de pinceau* of Chōbunsai (also Jibukiō) Yeishi. He received his early training from an artist named Kanō Yeisen (or, as some say, Kanō Tenshin), but soon adopted the Torii manner, choosing for his master Okumura Masanobu, whose "soft and graceful method of painting and drawing" strongly attracted him. This latter artist was also known as Bunriūsai, and the appellation Chōbunsai expresses Yeishi's indebtedness to him and to his school (*Cho* is the equivalent of *Tori*), after the custom of which we see so many other instances. Yeishi lived first at Hama-chō, near the Nihom-bashi in Yedo, and afterwards at Warigesui, Honjo, in the same city. His work was done during the periods Temmei to Kwansei (A.D. 1781–1800).

As one would have expected from a man of birth and some culture, Yeishi enjoyed a reputation in circles socially above those of the ordinary Ukiyoye artists; and his choice of the subjects of the latter was viewed

* Major Sexton O'Brien suggests that later work signed Shikō is that of a pupil Momogawa Shikō (II).

with little favour by his old associates. A Japanese historian says: "Unfortunately, Yeishi did not always make a wise use of his able brush, in spite of the wholesome counsel of his well-wishers. More than once he received from his superiors severe admonitions to mend his ways, which at last so chagrined him that he destroyed his brushes, and swore never to paint again on any subject whatever." M. Hayashi quotes a tradition that the name of Yeishi was given to him by the tenth Shōgun, with whom he had held an official position as painter before he joined the Ukiyoye School. The degradation—for such it undoubtedly was—may perhaps be hinted at in the above statement. Yeishi also used the names Hosoda Teruyuki and Hosoi.

Yeishi's colour-prints are distinguished by their feeling of repose. His lines run easily, with an utter absence of sharp contrasts or unexpected developments; and his compositions have what one can only call a suggestion of the inevitable. His colour is harmonious; and to him is especially attributable a scheme in which black and greys play the principal part, in combination with a fine bright yellow, and that purple, the invention of which was absurdly attributed for a time to Toyokuni I., but was really shared by many other artists. Yeishi continued to paint even after he had abandoned designing for colour-prints. A notable example of his skill in this branch—his portrait of Utamaro—has already been referred to. He illustrated several books: one in collaboration with Hakuhō, Yeikichi, Tōrin, Shigemasa, Utamaro, and Hokusai (1798); in another, "Illustrations of the Thirty-six Poetesses" (Yedo, 1801), he was also assisted by Hokusai, who supplied a double-page frontispiece: an interesting evidence of a combination which, however, had no definite results on Yeishi's colour-prints, though it may have strongly influenced his painting. He died in 1829.

Yeishi had several pupils whose work possesses more or less affinity with that of their master; but little is known of any of them. They were, Chōkōsai Yeishō, and another Yeishō who wrote the last syllable of his name with a different character; Yeiki, Yeisui, Chōyensai Yeiju, Yeichō, Chōtensai Yeishin, Gokei, Sōraku, and Yeiri, who must not be confounded with Rekisentei Yeiri, perhaps a pupil of Yeishun Hasegawa Mitsunobu. Of these, as far as one may judge from the few specimens available, Gokei* (whose name has also been read, incorrectly, as Gokiō) is by far the best. A print in the Museum signed by him "pupil of Yeishi" is in that artist's characteristic colours, and for all-round merit is equal to the best of his productions. Yeishō is broad and somewhat forcible. He illustrated books in 1799. The others follow rather the later style of Utamaro.

Yeizan was the son of a painter, Kanō Yeiri, and learned his art in the first place from his father. His personal names were Chōkiūsai Mangorō, and he was also called Tamegorō and Toshinobu. He lived at Yedo, in Kōjimachi, Ichigaya Nōza, and began life as a maker of artificial flowers. After studying with his father, he for some time worked under the painter Nanrei, specimens of whose work are in the British Museum collection, and who also made some *surimono*. Yeizan was a friend of Iwakubo Hokkei, not the great follower of Hokusai, but a pupil of Teisai Hokuba; and at one time they worked together in the style of Hokusai. After the death of Utamaro, Yeizan imitated his master's work with much success; and while his signed productions in this style are deservedly popular, there is no doubt that he is the maker of many prints to which he affixed Utamaro's signature. His theatrical subjects are said to be all later than 1806. Yeizan also imitated Toyokuni I., and shared the popularity of

* Perhaps the son of Gakutei; see p. 115.

this man with Shunsen, whose prints, belonging to the same period, was also then of good repute. The date of Yeizan's death is not known, but after about 1829 he turned his attention to authorship, and both wrote and illustrated many books.

Yeizan's best work is in the style of Utamaro, whose choice of subjects he also followed closely, but he has a certain virility in his best prints which is quite distinctive. At his highest level, he is no mean rival of that great artist.

The whole group with which this chapter has dealt gave their best powers to the portraiture of women, choosing tall, slender types, which allowed the finest use to be made of the graceful drapery and head-dress of the period. Several of them, and Utamaro and Yeizan in particular, made a special point of this last detail, producing prints of the bust only, in which the great built-up curves of the hair, with its supporting pins, are strikingly treated with solid or modulated black, in strong contrast to the slender faces and lines of the shoulders beneath. As compositions, these prints are quite notable; but in our eyes they lack the pictorial value of the full-length figures. The tendency of the whole group seems to have been to keep apart from the theatre and everything connected therewith, a characteristic which marks them out clearly from the later Torii, from Shunshō, and from the Utagawa, who form the subject of the next chapter.

The following dated prints have been noted:—"Silkworm Industry series 1807"; "Wood-sellers of Ohara," 3-sheet, 1807; "Beautiful Women compared with popular songs," 1809.

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V.

THE UTAGAWA.

The family, in the artistic sense of the word, that used the prefix Utagawa, was the most prolific of all the groups of colour-print designers. It arose at the time when the process was just perfected, and held the market at that of its greatest popularity; with the usual result that an overwhelming demand, combined with increased technical and publishing facilities, soon degraded the art to the mere multiplication of examples of approved pattern, on lines which show few deviations attributable to the individuality of the makers. This did not come about quite at once; and the founder of the school, Utagawa Toyoharu (*see* page 25), is free from any signs of decadence. Of his principal pupil, however, this cannot quite be said; and it is he who is the real head of the school.

The first Toyokuni was the son of Kurahashi Gorobei, who lived during the period Hōreki (A.D. 1751–63), near the Shintō Temple of Shimmei in the Shiba quarter of Yedo, and had a good reputation as a carver of wooden Buddhistic images, and also those of actors; among the latter one of Ichikawa Hakuzō having especially gained popularity. Toyokuni's own name was Kumakichi. He was born in the year Meiwa 6 (A.D. 1769), and studied first the styles of Hanabusa Itchō (from whom he afterwards adopted the *noms de pinceau* Ichiyōsai and Ichiō) and Giokuzan; then attaching himself to Toyoharu, with whom he attained such popularity and success as soon to have many pupils of

his own. He afterwards studied under Kiōtokusai Shunyei, from whom he acquired some of his more noticeable characteristics, especially in the treatment of actors' portraits. His dwellings were successively at Mishima-chō, Shiba; then at Yoshi-chō, and, finally, at Horiye-chō, Kami-machi-chō, Kawagashi, all in Yedo. He died on the 7th day of the first month of the year Bunsei 8 (A.D. 1825), at the age of fifty-seven. At his death, between 500 and 600 of his drawings were buried with him; a monument was raised to his memory, at Mita Hijirizaka in the Temple of Kōun; and he received, after his death, the Buddhist name of Jizairigō. Toyokuni, in the course of his life, was frequently employed to give drawing lessons to persons of good family; an unusual event in the career of a painter of the Popular School.

Toyokuni's earlier prints are in the styles of the artists described in the two preceding chapters; and like them he produced pictures of beautiful women in the prevailing fashion, which can be closely compared with those of Kiyonaga, Shunchō, Yeishi and Utamaro. For one of the most important phases of his work is entirely imitative. He was a tradesman in his art; and, as a rule, made just what sold best. So that we find him copying almost every other man who had a vogue. The idealistic writer may call this process an evolution of styles, and discourse pleasantly on "influences"; but there is no doubt that the more sordid view is also the more accurate.

That a personal rivalry existed between Utamaro and Toyokuni is a known fact. Thus when the latter produced a successful print of the story of the two lovers, Ohan and Chōyemon, as played by the actor Ichikawa Yaozō and his company, Utamaro promptly published a version of his own of the same subject. And, again, a series of "Beauties of the Yoshiwara" by Toyokuni

was at once followed by another publication of a precisely similar nature by Utamaro.

Utamaro seems, during his life, to have been always the more prosperous of the two. There is nothing to lead one to suppose that he ever deliberately imitated the style of another, apart from the question of subject, while Toyokuni is known not only to have copied Utamaro closely in every way under his own name, but to have forged the latter's signature pretty freely

Of these forgeries, there is none that can with certainty be identified in the Museum, although of the several doubtful prints signed *Utamaro*, Toyokuni is probably entitled to his share. But more than one imitation of Utamaro's style can be referred to, as well as of those of the other artists mentioned above. It is, however, when we come to consider the portraits of actors in character, made by Toyokuni, that we realise his true position. He was much more than a mere copyist. Exercises in the manners of other men came easily to him, so thorough was his mastery of his art, and they only go to prove that while Toyokuni was, on their own ground, the equal of the best of his fellows, he kept always an individuality.

These portraits of actors, of which the Museum possesses perhaps the finest series in existence, are the work of a master of the highest artistic rank, whatever be his social position. They have not the prettiness of the graceful, but, truth to tell, somewhat inane females of Toyokuni's predecessors and comtemporaries. The face and pose are often hard and angular; but, as anyone will admit who has ever seen a Japanese play, these qualities are absolutely inherent in the Japanese actor at work. Indeed, the face was as a mask, and the Japanese stage of old times held nothing like the human restlessness of an European actor. Thereon, movement was slow, studiously controlled, and worked into what was

really nothing more than a series of *tableaux;* exactly such as Toyokuni, in fact, represents over and over again with perfect realism. His rendering of dramatic emotion is intense; but it is that of the Japanese, and not of the European actor. And the simplicity of his convention, the unerring lines of his composition, and the inimitable dignity of his subjects, when such is required of them, are all evidences of great and personal skill. His colour is always good, and generally in a somewhat subdued key. The fallacy of attributing to him the first use of purple has already been pointed out. As a matter of fact, he employed it, on the whole, in a less degree than some others, and it certainly is anything but a conspicuous feature in his palette. What is a notable characteristic therein is the fine use he made of black in solid mass. Probably no other artist of his class has excelled him in this respect—few have, even occasionally, equalled him.

In the best of his theatrical prints,* Toyokuni rarely indulges in a scenic background, or accessories of any kind other than the objects in the hands of the actors. His figures are placed in a setting furnished either by the rich hue of the paper itself or a simple wash of broken grey or light brown; more rarely sprinkled with mica (*micasé*). This simplicity gives force to the gentle colours employed in the design, and enables them to tell with full effect in combination with the almost inevitable black.

In his treatment of crowds, Toyokuni shows great resource. A superb six-sheet print in the Museum (a rare form, in which the panels are arranged in two blocks of three each, one over the other) has a representation of the crowd on the bridge watching a fête on the Sumida river, which is both humorous and masterly (E. 4900—'86),

* Strange (E.F.) Toyokuni and his Theatrical Colour-prints. In Japan Soc. Trans. 1907.

and in other secular scenes the same quality is observable. Towards the end of his life he grew more careless of style, in unison with the prevailing tendency; but he never entirely lost his distinction, and one selects his prints from a mixed bundle with greater ease and certainty than those of any of his fellows.

Toyokuni illustrated several books. One of the finest is a collection of portraits of actors, printed in the best style of the art, *Yakusha Kono Teikishiwa*, published by Injūdō at Yedo in 1801. Another, in the Museum, represents scenes in the daily life and amusements of actors. He also collaborated with Toyohiro and Shunyei, furnishing the drawings of two volumes, to the six supplied by the latter, of an Encyclopædia of the Theatre, issued in 1806. It is worth noting that Utamaro made one plate for another work by Toyokuni and Kunimasa, published in 1799.

Among the many pupils of Toyokuni I., some special importance must be given to one, if only because his work was almost always, for long, attributed to his master, or to Kunisada. Naojirō is said by some Japanese authorities to have been the son of Toyokuni I., but it is quite certain that he was only an adopted son, who continued to be a member of the household. His early work is signed Toyoshige—a print in the Museum bearing this signature, with the added qualification "pupil of Toyokuni," is now reproduced (plate 73)—but most of it bears simply "Toyokuni," and some, Gosotei Toyokuni; the similarity of the first of which appellations to one of those of Kunisada Gototei, being an additional cause of the confusion which had arisen. This artist's private name was Genzō. He lived at Harukimachi in the Honjō quarter of Yedo, and on the death of his master, married his widow (second wife). He himself died in the year Tempō 6 (A.D. 1835), on the 1st day of the 11th month, at the age of fifty-nine.

Gosōtei Toyokuni worked in a somewhat hard style, not without strength, and with a scheme of colours common to the men of his generation. His style is singularly invariable, and his signature also is always easily recognisable. He made one set of landscapes of great merit, in avowed imitation of those of Hiroshige, and his *surimono* are not infrequently met with. Most of his colour prints are devoted to theatrical subjects, in which, however, he never touches the level of his father by adoption. The statement that Kunisada adopted the signature of Toyokuni on the death of this artist is incorrect; he delayed to do so for some ten years.

We now have to deal with the best-known and most prolific of Toyokuni's pupils, Kunisada. The main facts, as far as at present known, of whose life, are as follows. He was born in Bōshū. His private name was Tsunoda Shōzō; and a useful illustration of the social standing of the colour-print maker of Japan is afforded by the fact that he also kept a ferryboat at Yedo. When he was quite a small boy his father found that he was in the habit of drawing the faces of actors. Although he had had no instruction, he displayed such skill that the advisability of obtaining proper guidance for him was at once evident; he was sent to Toyokuni I., with whom he worked about the year Bunkwa 2 or 3 (A.D. 1805–6). He was very clever, and a great favourite with his teacher, succeeding so well at his craft that he began to obtain many commissions to illustrate books, publishing the first in Bunkwa 5 (A.D. 1808); and soon his reputation was greater than that of Toyokuni himself, not only in Yedo, Kiōto, and Ōsaka, but even in the country districts. In the same year he made also a colour-print portrait of the famous actor, Nakamura Utayemon, engraved by a fan-maker, Nishimuriya Yohachi, who was the first man to cut Kunisada's blocks. In Tempō 4 (A.D. 1833) he attended the studio

of Hanabusa Ittei and learned his style, taking the name of Hanabusa Ikkei, and also that of Kōchōrō, the latter of which names often appears on his prints, and thus furnishes a means of dating approximately a good many of them. For instance, it appears on a memorial portrait of the actor Nakamura Utayemon, who died in 1838. In Tempō 15 (A.D. 1844) he took his master's name, and on this occasion he sent to his friends a *surimono* (see Chap. X.), consisting of a portrait of himself with the signature Gototei Kunisada, and the inscription, "From this year I take the name of Toyokuni the second, 7th Day of the New Year." One of these rare and interesting prints was in the collection of the late Michael Tomkinson, Esq., J.P., of Kidderminster.

His adoption of this name, for which, as already explained, he had no authority, excited a good deal of satirical comment among his acquaintances. The Japanese have a great liking for that kind of pun which really conveys a double meaning, and this action of Kunisada lent itself easily to several which have been preserved. For instance, the word *Utagawa* also means "doubtful," and this play on one of his names was used unsparingly. *Nise* (second) can be translated "forgery," and here again, the credit of the artist suffered. In the year Kokwa 2 (A.D. 1847) he nominally retired, shaved his head, and took the religious name Shōzō. He had lived in Yedo, at Kameido, near the Temman Temple; but in Kayei 5 (A.D. 1852) his pupil, Kunimasa (the second of the name), married his daughter, taking the name of Kunisada II. (see p. 84), and Kunisada then gave this house to him, moving to Yanagishima. He died on the 15th day of the 12th month of Genji 1 (A.D. 1864) at the age of seventy-nine; and, in spite of a reputation for gambling and other forms of dissipation, he had maintained his skill to the last, a print in the possession of the author, which is as good

as any of his later work, bearing the inscription, "Toyokuni, made at the request of his friends in his seventy-eighth year." He was buried at Kameidomura, in the Temple of Kōmiō, and, in accordance with Buddhist practice, received after his death the name of Hōkokuin Teishō Gwasenshinshi. In spite of his nominal withdrawal from the world, however, he must have continued to design for colour prints; for his work shows signs of continuation throughout the whole of his life.

A portrait of him was made when he died, by Kunichika, then at the age of twenty-nine, and engraved by Asakura Noritsune. It includes Kunisada's last poem, which may be translated, "I have done with asking Buddha for good things, and now, quietly, make the last prayer."

No artist produced more prints than did Kunisada, and in none is the decline of the art more consistently displayed. His early productions are closely allied in merit and style to those of his master, with a tendency to a not ungraceful slenderness in the figures. But later he became the merest boiler of pots, and seems to have given up all control of his printers. In Kunisada's work is seen that growth of amazing multiplication of blocks, which was fatal to all the simplicity and directness of the old traditions. Yet his prints have intrinsic merits of their own; and, if we had known no others, we should probably have found it easy to award them no slight meed of praise. Kunisada is at his best when working in a sort of version of the old Tosa style. A set of illustrations in this manner, made for the favourite romance, "The Adventures of Prince Genji," are among the most successful of his efforts. He, too, picked up Hiroshige's trick of landscape, and used it in his later years.

His visit to Ōsaka and its results are described in Chapter VII.; he is known also to have worked at

Kyōto, a record of which is a fine three-sheet print in blue, with the title in red. His numerous pupils must be dealt with later.

Among the many names used on colour prints by Kunisada, the following are most often met with—generally in connection with that of Kunisada, Toyokuni or Toyokuni II.— Utagawa, Kōchōrō, Gototei, Kiō, Kokuteisha, Ichiyōsai, Ichiyūsai. He illustrated some books—the *Suikoden* in 1829, a novel by Bakin in 1841–42, and another in 1849 in collaboration with other pupils of Toyokuni and himself, are representative examples to be found in the Museum collection. He also made some of those prints mainly in shades of blue, with just a note of red and sometimes of green, which are among the most delightful of the later broadsheets, the colours being closely copied from those of a well-known variety of Chinese porcelain. In this place it may be convenient to remark that Keisai Yeisen and Kuniyoshi also followed this fashion with equally fine results.

Of the first of Toyokuni's pupils, Utagawa Kuniyoshi is perhaps, next to Kunisada, the most famous and prolific. His own name was Ikusa Magosaburō, and he was also called Ichiyūsai and Chō-ō-rō. He was the son of a silk dyer, Yanagiya Kichiyemon, and at first followed his father's trade; but, like other artisans of whom we have record, his love for the Popular School of painting became so strong that he adopted it as a profession, attaching himself to Toyokuni I., and living with another pupil, Kuninao (see p. 54), whose influence so strongly affected him that he has been called a pupil of the latter, especially in landscape. Later in life he studied from Dutch prints, and European influence is strongly visible in much of his work. At first, about the end of the period Bunkwa (A.D. 1804–17) he drew some *murasakizoshi*, but they failed to attract the public, and for a time he was without employment and almost

destitute. However, he was so fortunate as to make the acquaintance of a popular comic poet, Umeya Kakuju (Murota Matabei), at whose suggestion several publishers gave him commissions which brought him a considerable amount of success. He also made a hit with three-sheet prints issued by Higashiya Daisuke, and with views of the waterfall of Benten at Ōyama, Sagami, as well as with many portraits of actors, in which branch of his art he was unable, however, to hold his own with Toyokuni and Kunisada. At the end of the period Bunsei (A.D. 1818 29) he published a famous series of pictures of the "Hundred and Eight Chinese Heroes" (*Suikoden*), besides illustrating many books. He also designed a number of humorous pictures in the manner of Katsukawa Shunyei; and eventually developed a quite distinctive style, in which the European influence already alluded to is very marked. At the beginning of the period Tempō, he was recognised as a master of the *Ukiyoye* School; but admiring the methods of the famous lacquer artist Zeshin, he devoted some time to studying under him, and, to mark this change, took the name of Senshin. Kuniyoshi was renowned among his fellows for his skill in making comic poetry, which is signed Wafūtei Kuniyoshi using, to represent the last two syllables, a character different from that of his artist signature. He lived the whole of his life in Yedo, at Honshirogane-chō Yonezawa-chō and Shinidzumi-chō, Genyadana, and died in the first year of Bunkiū (A.D. 1861) on the 5th day of the 3rd month, being buried at the Daisen Temple Hakkenjemachi, Asakusa. He lived a life of dissipation, and is recorded to have been tattooed on his back.

Kuniyoshi's best work is found in his battle pieces, which, though executed with many of the faults of the decadence in colouring, show amazing vigour, and no mean power of imagination. He executed a good series

of portraits of the "Forty-seven Rōnin"; and his later landscapes, with their modern colouring and obviously European suggestion, are by no means to be despised. The Museum is so fortunate as to possess two sketch books, of undoubted authenticity, by Kuniyoshi, which are of the highest interest. They show his methods of drawing with the brush, and also contain some studies from the nude in quite western methods. As a painter, Kuniyoshi held his own among his contemporaries of the same school. As a maker of colour prints he would, had he lived earlier and come under better conditions of production, have held very high rank indeed; his landscapes are often admirable. His early prints are comparatively rare.

Before passing on to the next generation, pupils of these men, there are several more of their comtemporaries, pupils of Toyokuni I., to be considered. One of the most important of these was Utagawa Kunimasa, called also Ichijusai, who had the personal name of Jinsuke. He was born in Aidzu, and gained his living at first as a workman in a dye-house; but, being infatuated with the drama, spent the whole of his spare time in theatres, and developed a taste for the drawing of portraits of actors, in which he soon attained great skill. His employer happened to be an intimate friend of Toyokuni I., and, encouraging the young man in his new art, finally introduced him to that artist, who undertook his instruction. Kunimasa also made designs for round-shaped fans, which at once achieved great popularity.

His portraits of actors were so successful, and had a reputation so much higher than those of Toyokuni, that on this account alone he was said by some to have been the latter's master. There is no doubt, however, that the reverse was the case. Kunimasa made other broadsheets, but the imperfection of his drawing prevented them from reaching the standard of his portraiture. He died at the

early age of thirty-eight, in Bunkwa 7 (A.D. 1810), on the 30th day of the 11th month. His work must on no account be confused with that of a later artist, Kunimasa II., who was a pupil of Kunisada, and had the family name Yamashita, and artist-names Yūgō and Chōbunsai; or with that of Kunimasa III., an artist of greater skill, who is better known as Kunisada II., and was also a pupil of the same master (see p. 84).

Utagawa Kuninaga (Ichiunsai and Umesen-no-suke) was born in Yedo and lived at Shibaguchi and later at Shimbashi, Kinrokuchō. He, also, was a pupil of Toyokuni I., and was famous for his designs for lanterns, besides being a skilled musician. It is recorded that he was a great friend of two popular buffoons, Sakuragawa Zenkō and Sakuragawa Jinkō. He died during the period Bunkwa (A.D. 1804–17), aged over forty years. His prints are in the same style as those of his master, and are of good quality.

Utagawa Kunimitsu (Kumazō, Ichiyōsai), also an early pupil of Toyokuni I., lived at various localities in Yedo. He made some fine portraits of actors, and had a reputation especially for his colour among the Japanese. His date is not known, but his work belongs to the same period as that of the last-named.

Utagawa Kuniyasu, also called Yasugorō and Ippōsai, was born in Yedo, and lived at Daimondōri Muramatsuchō, afterwards moving to Ogibashi, Honjō. When quite young he dwelt for a time with Toyokuni I. and learned his style, first publishing *nishikiye* at the beginning of the period Bunkwa (A.D. 1814–17), a portrait of the actor Utayemon in the play "Tadanobu Michiyuki" being said to be his earliest work. After a short time, however, he changed his name to Nishikawa Yasunobu, but no prints bearing this signature have yet been noted. However, he resumed his old appellation, Kuniyasu, and again produced a large number, as well as a quantity of

book illustrations. He died in the first year of Tempō (A.D. 1830), aged only a little over thirty years. Utagawa Kuninao was the artist name of Taizō Yoshikawa, also called Shirobei, Ichiyensai, Ichiyōsai, Ukiyo-an, Riūyenrō, Riūyendō, and Sharaku-ō. He was born in Shinano, and lived at Yedo, first at Kōjimachi and afterwards at Tadokoro-chō. He first studied the Chinese style, and then that of Hokusai, but eventually became a pupil of Toyokuni I. But being desirous of creating a style of his own, he gave up work for a time and devoted himself again to study. At the beginning of the period Tempō (A.D. 1830–43), however, he once more began to paint and design for colour prints. His early productions are not without merit, and are by no means common. He collaborated with Ōishi Matora, Kuniyoshi, and Keisai Yeisen, in the production of a very beautiful book, *Jinji Ando*, designs for lanterns (Nagoya, 1829–35). Kunimaru (Ichiyensai, Bunji, Gosairō, Honchōan, Keiuntei, Saikarō) was born at Kawagoye in Musashi, and lived at Yedo in Honchō Nichōme Ukiyo-kōji. He was a person of unusual culture for his social position, and had the friendship of many literary men; being himself an expert in the kind of poetry called *hakai*. He studied under Toyokuni I., and also became famous for his caligraphy. His prints, which are rare, are notable for the grace of the slender female figures which he introduces. He died about the year 1817, aged a little over thirty years.

Other pupils of Toyokuni I. were Kunitsugu (Kōzō), Kunitaki, Kunitada, Kuninobu (Kaneko Sōtarō, Ichireisai) Kunichika (Ichiyōsai, Kaseisha, Ōsai, Kwachōrō, Toyohara, Ikkeisai), Kunifusa, Kunitane, Kunikatsu, Kunitora, Kunikane (Ippōsai), Kunitaka, Kunimune, Kunihiko (Kokkisha), Kunitoki, Kuniyuki, Kunitsuna (Ichiransai, Ichirantei), Kunikiyo, Kunimitsu II., and others, chiefly known by the prefix "Kuni," though this was also used

by pupils of Toyokuni Gosotei, and, in some instances, of Kunisada.

The Museum possesses one print (E. 12812—'86) signed "Toyokuni of the third generation" (Toyokuni III.). This is a later artist than any mentioned above. His work is quite unimportant, and his existence is only worth recording as evidence ot that transmission of the name of a leader of a group, which is so unique and striking a characteristic of Japanese art.

It is now necessary to retrace our steps in order to deal with pupils of Toyoharu other than Toyokuni I. The greatest of these was Toyohiro, who was born in 1773, and died in 1828. His other names were Okajima Tōjirō and Ichiriūsai. Besides the production of many colour prints, Toyohiro was a book illustrator of note, and produced several fine volumes of views printed in colours. He was a landscape painter of distinction, and deserves attention in this respect especially, as the master of Hiroshige I. His colour prints and *surimono* are good; among the Japanese of the day they were considered to be inferior to those of Toyokuni I.—whose brother he may have been—in drawing, but better in colour.

Other pupils of Toyoharu were Toyohisa, Toyomaru, and Shichizayemon, the latter being, as far as is known, a book illustrator only.

In this place it will be convenient to refer to an artist who does not claim kinship with any of the recognised masters of Ukiyoye, Tōshūsai Sharaku, whose family name was Saitō Jūrobei. Sharaku was a *No* dancer by profession, in the services of the Daimyo Hachisuka of Awa. He made portraits of actors for a very short time only, about the years 1794–5, and these of the most striking individuality and power, in spite of their somewhat repellant effect in our eyes. They are generally of the bust only, though Mr. Morrison and

M. Hayashi both note full-length figures by him. These are generally of rather large dimensions, and done on silvered backgrounds; they are very rare, and it is probable that most of the known examples are in the hands of French amateurs who have assiduously collected them. Sharaku exercised an undoubted influence on Toyokuni I. and Kunimasa. He is said* to have made oil paintings under the name of Yūrin and to have died in 1804. The catalogue of an exhibition of prints held by the Fine Art Society, in 1909, gives the titles of 20 of his subjects.

* J. J. Sexton O'Brien. *In* Japan Soc. Trans. XIX, p. 103.

VI.

HOKUSAI.

Hokusai was born at Yedo, in the Honjō quarter, in the 9th month of the 10th year of the period Hōreki (*i.e.*, October–November, 1760). He is said by almost all the authorities to have been the son of a mirror-maker, Nakajima Issai, and the balance of evidence seems to be in the favour of the statement; although another account calls him the son of Kawamura Ichiroyemon, an artisan of unknown profession. This latter story relates that he was adopted at an early age by Nakajima, but M. Revon* argues with much force that Kawamura was more likely to have fulfilled this office towards him. Another story makes Hokusai derive his descent on his mother's side from Kira, who was killed by the Forty-Seven Rōnin in revenge for the death of their master;† but this appears to rest on a somewhat uncertain foundation, though one of his friends relates that Hokusai always claimed it.‡

However these things may be, Hokusai was an eldest son (he had the name of Tokitarō, first-born son), and left his father's home to earn his living at an early age.

* Étude sur Hoksaï; par Michel Revon. Paris, 1896.

† Other dates given are the 3rd day of the 1st month of Hōreki 9; and 18th day of the 1st month of Hōreki 10. But M. Revon states that the above date is written by Hokusai himself on a drawing of Daikoku in possession of the bookseller Kobayashi.

‡ *The Magazine of Japanese Art* (Vol. I.) says his family name was Nakamura Hachiyemon and that he was called Katsushika from the district in which he lived.

His first employment was at a book-shop, where, says M. de Goncourt, he did his work with such idleness and scorn that he was shown the door. Next, under the name of Tetsuzō, he worked for some years (about 1773–75) at the art of wood-engraving. He is known to have cut some of the blocks, and particularly the sixth page of a book by Sanchō, published in the latter year, and experience which must have proved most valuable to him in after life. It is practically certain that these two influences turned his attention towards the practice of art on his own account. At the age of eighteen he entered the studio of Katsukawa Shunshō, and as a mark of favour was soon invested by his master with the name Katsukawa Shunrō, the first signature found on his broadsheets (see E. 4768—'86).

But this favour was soon cancelled by an action which was characteristic of the whole temperament of the artist. Hokusai was not content with the style of his master, and set himself to study the Kanō method —that of one of the aristocratic schools of Japan. In anger, Shunshō forbade him the use of the name Katsukawa, and expelled him. At about the same time he had designed a sign for a picture-dealer in this style. It was seen by Shunkō, a fellow pupil, and the most faithful follower of Shunshō, who tore it to pieces before the eyes of Hokusai himself. The latter made no protest at the time, but contented himself with a vow to become the greatest painter in the world in spite of it. He always said in later life that if he had really succeeded in gaining the rank of a great artist, it was Shunkō's insult that had impelled him thereto. This happened in 1785.

He now changed his name, first to Sōnō Shunrō, and very soon to Gummatei, which appears on several of his book illustrations; but in 1787 his admiration for the works of Tawaraya Sōri, a contemporary painter with affinities to the Tosa School and the style of

Kōrin, caused him to adopt for a time the signature Hishikawa Sōri.* His work, however, brought him so small a subsistence that for a while he abandoned it to hawk, first red pepper and then calendars, about the streets. After suffering extreme poverty for several months, however, a fortunate commission to paint a banner for the Feast of Boys enabled him to resume his real profession.

During the year 1789 he illustrated many books; and about 1793 or 1794 he made his first appearance as a painter with such success that he was selected with others by the artist Kanō Yūsen to help in the restoration of the great temple of Nikkō. Unfortunately a hasty criticism of one of Yūsen's drawings brought about his dismissal before he arrived there, and Hokusai was again thrown on his own resources. His period of apprenticeship was, however, not yet finished. He now worked successively under Tōrin II., Hiroyuki, and Shiba Kōkan (who taught him something of European methods), and then underwent a course of study of the great Chinese painters of the Ming Dynasty (A.D. 1368–1616). In 1799 he again changed his style, and now took for the first time the name by which he is always known, a name which, however, in full is Hokusai Shinsai (spirit of the Northern Constellation, the Great Bear; in Japanese called *hoku-shin-sei*). He soon altered his signature again to Raitō, Raishin (these in commemoration of an escape from lightning), Taitō Tei-itsu, and Tokitarō Kakō (see E. 4770—'86). The name Shinsai he had already given to a pupil. His fame now began to increase, and with it an independence of spirit of which one story is so typical that it is worth repeating. The captain and doctor of a Dutch ship, during a visit to Yedo, each commissioned a pair of *makimono* (painted rolls) representing the life of a Japanese from the cradle to the

* The Museum possesses Surimono with this signature.

grave. The stipulated price was high, but the captain paid for his rolls without question. The doctor, however, haggled, first offered half, and then to purchase one roll only. Hokusai refused, and took his work away. His wife reproached him with having declined the money in their state of poverty, but Hokusai replied that it was better to do so, lest it should be thought that a Japanese did not mean what he said. When the captain heard of this incident, he is reported to have hastened to buy the drawings himself. At this time Hokusai sold a good deal of his work to the Dutch, but after a time this traffic was put a stop to by the Shōgun, who feared that his drawings might reveal details of the national defences. It is very probably thus that the collection of M. Titsingh (see p. 32) contained specimens of Hokusai's work. Certainly many came to Europe at that time, and possibly are still preserved in Holland, though none have yet been identified.

In 1804 Hokusai executed the first of those *tours de force* of which the Japanese tell so many stories. It was a gigantic drawing in Indian ink of the Deity Dharma; and though it is said to have measured 200 square metres, he completed it in a few minutes, running backwards and forwards, and painting with brooms from a cask of ink. The crowd who watched this amazing performance could recognise nothing, until someone had the idea of ascending to the roof of the temple, when the whole design became intelligible. The mouth was as large as a gate through which a horse might enter, and within each of the eyes was space for a seated man. Several similar gigantesque drawings are recorded, in which Hokusai surpassed all earlier professors of this sort of artistic *leger-de-main;* and, by way of showing his versatility, he went to the other extreme and drew two sparrows on a grain of corn, so small that they could not be seen with the naked eye. He

also displayed his dexterity by drawing in any direction from bottom to top or from right to left, with his finger, an egg, a bottle, or even a wine measure ;* and in these ways secured a hold on the imagination of the populace in Japan, which certainly has assisted to gain his great popular reputation.

His renown caused him to be summoned to display his skill before the Shōgun Iyenari. The artist Tani Bunchō was also in attendance, and drew first with great applause. Hokusai followed in the same manner ; and then, on one of the *karakami* (screen-like doors of paper) he drew a river of deep blue, and dipping the feet of a cock, which he had brought, in red colour, caused him to walk over it in such a way as to produce a picture of the river Tatsuta with autumn-coloured maple-leaves floating down the stream. Bunchō confessed himself beaten and astonished, and Hokusai at once became a popular idol.

In 1807 Hokusai first collaborated with the great writer Bakin in the "Life of the Hundred Heroes." When the first volume was finished they quarrelled, and rather than lose the artist's illustrations the publisher employed another author (Takai Ranzan) to complete the text. In succeeding years, however, Hokusai and Bakin frequently worked together, although the strength of character of each gave rise to continual disputes.

In 1812 Hokusai made the acquaintance of his pupil Bokusen at Nagoya, and he produced the first volume of his most famous work, the *Hokusai Mangwa.*†

In the spring of 1818 he visited successively the provinces of Isé and Kishū, staying a time at Ōsaka and Kiōto. At the latter place, the centre of the old aristocratic schools of painting, he had some small success ; but his talents were more appreciated in Yedo, to which he soon returned. In 1831 or 1832 he visited a former

* M. Revon. † See below, p. 67.

pupil of the painter Ganku, Takai Sankurō, who had attached himself to him; and after a further short stay at Yedo he went, in the winter of 1834–35, to Uraga, under the name of Muraya Hachiyemon, a journey which seems to have been undertaken for precautionary reasons of some sort. In the autumn of 1836 he returned once more to Yedo, in the midst of a severe famine, through which he had great difficulty in gaining a mere living by selling sketches at the most nominal prices, and by exhibitions of his amazing dexterity in brushwork. In 1839 occurred a great misfortune, not only for Hokusai, but for the world. His house was burned, and therewith an enormous collection of drawings and studies. He saved his brushes only, and started afresh with a broken bottle for water-pot and fragments of glass on which to mix his colours.

The struggle with poverty continued, but the artist's work never lost the freshness and spontaneity of youth. He himself said many times that he intended to live to the age of a hundred years, but in 1849 he was smitten with a fatal sickness. Almost at the very last he was heard to say, "If the gods had but given me ten years more . . " and a moment later, "If I had had but five years longer, I could have become a great painter!" He died on the 18th day of the 4th month of Kayei (A.D. 1849).*

This volume affords space for the consideration of one section only of the work of Hokusai—his colour prints. His paintings and illustrated books must, so far as detailed criticism is concerned, be passed over on the present occasion, while the *surimono* are dwelt with in the chapter devoted to that special class.

The earliest of Hokusai's broadsheets are rare; the Museum possesses one specimen only (E. 4768—'86).

* *The Magazine of Japanese Art* says 19th April, 1850, at the age of 90; and M. de Goncourt, 13th April, 1849.

They were made while he was still under the influence of Shunshō, and bear the signature Shunrō. As might be expected, they have all the characteristics of that school; but the figures, in place of the hardness and angularity of those of his master, show more grace and refinement, but as yet no trace of the freedom from the conventions of the Ukiyoye School, which afterwards distinguished the younger artist. The same may be said for the "Twelve Scenes of the Chūshingura," signed Kakō (E. 4770—4780—'86), except that the figures are poor compared with the former. Hokusai's style was yet to come, both in figure and landscape.

Hokusai made but few broadsheets on lines similar to those of his contemporaries, and most of these belong to his earlier years. Among them are several pictures of actors; and, in the *surimono* and smaller prints, some exquisite drawings of women. Some of the best of his work is to be found in an unfinished series, "The 100 Poems explained by the Nurse" (1839), of which only 27 are known. These compositions of landscape and figure subjects, with appropriate poems must rank among the finest expositions of the real sentiment of Japanese art and literature by any man of the Popular School. Certain long, narrow prints, of about eight inches in height, by over twenty in width, coloured lightly and pleasantly with a scheme in which rose-pink and green play the chief parts, are also well worthy of attention. An excellent example of this style shows some court ladies in a garden, preparing for the chrysanthemum festival (E. 4769—'86). The figures of women in these prints are drawn with a refinement and delicacy that none of the other artists of the Ukiyoye School ever equalled, and one cannot help regretting that Hokusai did not make more pictures of a similar nature.

It is by his landscapes that Hokusai is best known in this country; and these are so entirely removed from

the work in this class done by other Japanese print-makers, that no apology is needed for dealing with them in this place rather than in the chapter specially devoted to the subject.

They were issued in series, of which none is more famous, nor better merits its reputation, than that entitled "The Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji." These were published during the years 1823 to 1829. They are about ten by fifteen inches in dimensions, and almost all executed in a characteristic colouring of light blues, greens and yellows, with here and there a note of rich red or brown to give strength and contrast. The signature is generally "Hokusai Tamekazu," with additions; and the series, in spite of its title, consists, when complete, of forty-six plates.

It is difficult to speak in measured language of this set of prints. As compositions they are unsurpassed, and should for this reason alone, form part of the course of study of every landscape painter. The boldness and vigour of the drawing, the amazing dexterity of the arrangement, and their intense concentration, put them on the very highest level as works of fine art. Above all, the mere humanity of them—for not one is without its suggestion of pathos or humour—makes an appeal of the strongest. One feels how perfectly the artist takes his audience into his confidence. It is not only a piece of fine landscape that he offers us, but this is presented in such a way that we share with him the intimate pleasure of looking at it.

A detailed account of so long a series is, of course, out of the question in a handbook of this kind. They have been described at length in M. de Goncourt's monograph on the artist, and M. Revon has an excellent chapter on the spirit which underlies them—that deep-seated love of nature at large, and of Fuji in particular, which is so strongly felt by every Japanese. An old-

world tradition related that the mountain had been formed in the fifth year of the Emperor Kōrei (B.C. 285) by a convulsion of nature, which at the same time, by way of compensation, created the beautiful Lake Biwa. Certain it is that these are the two natural features of their country best beloved by the Japanese, and innumerable folk-tales and legends circle round them. It was fitting that this great theme should inspire the greatest of the artists of the Japanese democracy to his best work.

Hokusai painted other views of Fuji, some of which form the subjects of colour prints; but although book illustration in the ordinary sense of the word hardly enters into the scope of this volume, it is impossible to ignore his other great publication on the subject *Fugaku Hiakkei*, "The Hundred Views of Mount Fuji," a superb set of compositions in tinted line, published in 1834–35 by Nishimuraya of Yedo (Vols. 1 and 2 engraved by Yegawa Tomikichi and his pupils), and Yeirakuya Tōshirō of Nagoya (Vol. 3 engraved by Yegawa Sentarō). This work has one hundred and fifty cuts; two other editions of it were published at Nagoya, one in black only and another tinted. A reproduction with English text by F. V. Dickins was also published in London in 1880.

The other chief sets of prints by Hokusai in this style are "Picturesque Views of Famous Bridges in the Provinces," eleven in number, signed, "Zen Hokusai Tamekazu," and published by Yeijudō, the famous publisher, whose portrait Toyokuni drew; a fine set in the original edition, the quaint forms of the old Japanese bridges being especially suited to Hokusai's method; "Waterfalls of the Provinces," a set of eight plates in the same style and from the same publishing house; and the "Eight Views of the Riūkiū (Loochoo) Islands," published by Moriyama. The two former series

are somewhat similar in colour to the views of Fuji; in the latter a fine blue and red are the characteristic tints employed. Of each of these series, reprints from the original blocks, much cruder in tone, are frequently met with.

The Museum possesses a rare set of views of the Tōkaidō, small in size, and about six and a half inches square, or nearly, in which the figures of travellers humorously treated are of more importance than the landscape, the latter being only suggested. It contains fifty-six plates, and was published by Nishimuraya at Yedo in 1798 and 1799; another series of larger size and the same subject was in the Hayashi collection.

In 1799 was issued the first edition, in black only, of the well-known *Adzuma Asobi*, "Amusements of the Eastern Capital (Yedo)," engraved by Andō Yenchi, with descriptive text by Sensō-an. This was re-issued in colours in 1802; in either form it is a charming production. Two of the plates are worthy of special note—a view of the lodging of the Dutchmen at Nagasaki, with certain Japanese street idlers making fun of the queer strangers within; and a picture* of the interior of the shop of the publisher Tsutaya Jūazburō, who issued the book, and was one of the principal employers of colour print designers of the time. It shows large stacks of prints, among which three assistants are busy, and the manager coming forward to attend to a customer—a *Samurai*, by the way—for whom a heavily-loaded servant waits outside. Two similar sets of colour prints, issued in book form, are *Toto meisho ichiran*, "Views in the Celebrated Quarters of Yedo," by the same engraver; and *Yehon Sumidagawa riogan ichiran*, "Views on both Banks of the Sumida River," published in 1806 by Senkwadō Tsuruya, with text by

* Tsutaya I died in 1797. His shop was carried on by a manager, on behalf of his son, from that date to 1806.

Kōjirō Narayasu. The "Fisherman watching the Moon" may be a self-portrait of the artist. Several illustrations of the scenes of the "Drama of the Faithful Retainers" were done by Hokusai. One is quite early, and bears the rare signature Kakō; another, better known, is in the customary twelve plates, and was published by Tsuruya. Other prints have the seal of Idzumi Ichi.

It is impossible to close an account of the work of Hokusai without a mention of his masterpiece, the *Hokusai Mangwa*, "Sketches of Hokusai." These are studies, marvellously able, of every subject conceivable; lightly drawn, slightly tinted, and full of humour and observation. The publication of them was spread over a number of years. The preface to the first is dated December, 1812; and M. de Goncourt thinks the second was published in 1814, the third in 1815, the next five in 1816, and the ninth and tenth in 1819. M. Revon, however, dates Hokusai's visit to Bokusen at Nagoya, the occasion on which the scheme was made, in the early part of 1817; and argues that the first appearance of the book can only have been possible, therefore, in that year.* The first ten volumes had certainly appeared by 1819; the blocks were then bought by Yeirakuya Tōshirō of Nagoya, who issued two more volumes in 1834, and an additional two in 1849. A fifteenth volume of posthumous works has appeared since. Nothing has gained wider fame for Hokusai than this encyclopædia of Japanese life, for so it must be called. It holds the first place among Japanese illustrated books, and the student will find it a perfect treasure house of material and suggestion. An extract from the preface to Vol. I is worth recording, since it shows the light in which

* M. de Goncourt is probably correct. The point is fully discussed by me in "Hokusai" (Langham Series of Art Monographs, 1906). Bokusen himself published an imitation of the *Mangwa* in 1815.

Hokusai was regarded by the friends associated with him in its production. Translated freely, it reads : " Hokusai, the painter of so extraordinary a talent, after having travelled in the West, has stayed in our city (Nagoya), and there he has made the acquaintance of our friend Bokusen, has entertained himself by discussing with him the subject of drawing, and in these conversations has executed more than three hundred designs. Now, we wished that these lessons should be made profitable to all those who learn drawing, and it has been decided to print them in a volume ; and when we asked Hokusai what title should be given thereto, he said simply, 'Mangwa,' to which we have added his name." A laborious but accurate translation of the word is " Drawing things just as they come."

In a similar style of production many other volumes were published, among which our purpose will be served by a reference only to two volumes of drawings of birds *Kwacho Gwafu.*

The position of Hokusai in Japanese art is generally misunderstood. As a painter he is not of the first rank, outside of his own school, that of the Ukiyoye. He lacked the loftiness of ideal (from the Japanese point of view) and the refinement of classical training. With us who do not understand these things, he is, and always will be, one of the great artists of the world. But we must not make the mistake of considering his greatness as typically Japanese. The qualities that ensure it in our eyes do not count in its favour among the artists of his own country. As a personality he is also great. Poor, but of an indomitable pride, he held on the way of his art with supreme perseverance. He had no pride in his artistic merits. In his preface to the " Hundred Views of Mount Fuji " (1834) he wrote, " From the age of six years I had a fancy for drawing the forms of various objects. At the age of fifteen I had illustrated

many books, but up to that of seventy I was still not skilful. It was only when sixty-three years old that I began to understand how to draw well animals, birds, insects, fishes and plants. At eighty I shall have a considerable talent, at ninety I shall be better still, at a hundred I shall be sublime, at a hundred and ten, finally, I shall render life to a single line, to a single point. Let no one mock at these words." It is impossible not to appreciate the humility and the sub-acid irony of this simple outburst. In effect it is often repeated by him, and as we have seen, was in his mind when he died.

Hokusai left many pupils. He who was most intimately connected with the master was Yanagawa Shigenobu, and for this reason may be mentioned here, although much of his work belongs to the Ōsaka School, which is dealt with separately. His private name was Suzuki Jūbei, and he took the first of his artist names from the Yanagawa-chō, Honjō, Yedo, where he lived. He married the eldest daughter of Hokusai, and was a source of continual trouble to his father-in-law, whose work he forged, among other escapades. Eventually his wife returned to her father, and Shigenobu settled in Ōsaka, where besides colour prints he made dolls. He illustrated many books, and was actually engaged on one by Bakin when he died, in 1832, at the age of fifty years. His work was completed by his pupil Jūzan. Shigenobu made a number of *surimono* in the style of Hokusai, but his colour prints show none of the influence of that artist, and belong most exclusively to the Ōsaka School.

The life of Hokkei, the most skilful of the pupils of Hokusai, is given on page 115, because his principal work in colour printing was devoted to *surimono*. But he made a few broadsheets in the Ōsaka style, and these are usually signed Shunyōsai Hokkei. As a painter he was of considerable merit, working in the style of his master, from whose productions, indeed, the best of those

by Hokkei can only with difficulty be distinguished. His book illustration, also, is of the best, and extends in date over the period from 1810 to 1856.

Teisai Hokuba (1770–1844) was another especially talented pupil of Hokusai, whose renown rests more on his painting than on any other branch of art. His personal name was Arisaka Gorohachi, and he sometimes signed Shunshunsai. He lived at Yedo, first in the Kanda district and then in Shitaya, and was left-handed. The great painter Tani Bunchō was an admirer of Hokuba's work, and employed him as his assistant in decorative painting for temples. Hokuba worked in a fine and delicate style; his *surimono* are exquisite, and his book illustrations quite good. He also made a number of humorous pictures.

Shinsai, the heir to one of Hokusai's early names, made one or two very rare broadsheets, but is known only by his numerous *surimono*. His family name was Hanjirō Masayuki, and he also signed Riūriūkiō. He is known to have been at work in 1803, when he illustrated in colours a collection of poems compiled by Shunman (the artist) and Kanro-an; but his other known productions must all be later.

Hoku-un, a carpenter whom Hokusai loved for the simplicity of his character, settled eventually at Nagoya. He was also named Kingorō, Bungorō and Tōzainan. He, too, published a collection of sketches, *Hoku-un-Mangwa*, in 1818, under the auspices of the publisher Yeirakuya, and collaborated with Hokusai, Hokutei and Bokusen in a volume of sketches made at one stroke of the brush, *Ippitsu Gwafu*, issued by the same publisher in 1823. Of the other two artists mentioned above, Katsushika Hokutei (Yeisai), worked also at Yedo; and Bokusen, at Nagoya, was the friend of Hokusai, at whose house his great *Mangwa* was undertaken (see above). Bokusen is known to have made *surimono*, and to have illustrated

books between 1809 and 1823, signing, as a rule, Gekkōtei Bokusen. The Museum possesses part of the *Bokusen Sogwa*, sketches from life, issued at Nagoya in 1815, and printed in colours. Hotei Hokuga, a poor painter, is said to have been particularly skilled in the mixing of excellent colours, which he gave generously to his friends, but himself turned to small account. Katsushika Isai (also called Shimidzu Shōji, Suiyōken), whose name was given him by Hokusai, was of later date than most of the above. His *surimono* are sometimes met with, and he made book illustrations between 1858 and 1868, as well as a few broadsheets.

Hokusai was a maker of pipes, who abandoned his calling to become a painter. His family name was Ikedaya Kiūzaburō, and he lived at Yedo in the Yokohama-chō, Nihombashi district. On taking up his new profession he changed his name to Asano Uyemon, and also acquired the nickname Unobori Sanjin (celebrated man like a mountain). He made what was evidently in his day a notable journey, travelling throughout all Japan; and one record of this may exist in the series of "One Hundred Views of Kiōto," a pretty set of landscapes, of which five are in the Museum (E. 4999—5003—'86). They are of small size, but well conceived, and not badly coloured in the later style.

Hokusai left many other pupils, whose names are given at length by M. de Goncourt and M. Revon (pp. 136-138); and much of their work is catalogued by M. Hayashi. Some are not detailed here, because they seem to have worked exclusively at Ōsaka, and in the peculiar style of that place; and these latter are the only ones notable as designers of colour prints. Most of the above were painters and illustrators of books, but it has seemed right to give a brief account of them if only for the bearing of this development on the general history of the art.

VII.

THE ŌSAKA GROUP.

Several references have already been made, incidentally, to the existence of a late school of colour-print artists who worked at Ōsaka. These begin to appear in the second decade of the nineteenth century. They devoted themselves almost entirely to theatrical subjects, portraits of actors, either from life or in character, and scenes from plays, and seem to have been dominated by a tradition more hard-and-fast than any that influenced their fellows of Yedo. The Ōsaka prints can easily be recognised by a certain hardness of treatment, combined with brilliancy of colouring, which is derived from the great masters of Yedo in this class of work, Shunshō and Toyokuni I. In actual training the majority of the Ōsaka men owed allegiance to Shunyei, Hokusai, and Kunisada. Nothing is known of any definite connection of the former artist with the city. Hokusai visited Ōsaka in 1818, and undoubtedly was well known there; while of the commencement of Kunisada's connection with the place we have a most interesting record in a fine print in three panels, of which a copy is in the Museum (E. 5995–5997–'86). This is a representation, in Kunisada's best manner, of the dressing-rooms, corridors, and general internal arrangements of the Dōtombori Theatre, carried on in connection with the great Otei refreshment house at Ōsaka. In it one sees actors in every phase of their professional life—learning their parts, making-up, undressing, gossiping, coming and going, with all their various attendants and assistants. The print is published by Nishimuraya, with an announcement that

it was issued as a memorial of Kunisada's visit to Ōsaka. The artist, he informs his patrons, had already painted the three great theatres of Yedo in the same way with great success. Now he had come to Ōsaka, and would do similar work there, of which Nishimuraya intended to publish many more examples. There is, unfortunately, no date to this interesting example, but it cannot have been much later than 1820. In view of the fact that many of Kunisada's pupils settled in Ōsaka, no effort of the imagination is required to conceive that it had the expected success. This valuable piece of evidence is almost the only historical document which throws any direct light on what has hitherto been a most obscure branch of the subject; but, taken in conjunction with other indications, it leaves no doubt as to the origin of a large proportion of the cult of the colour print at Ōsaka.

Before proceeding to what can, by reason of the dearth of information recorded, be little better than a list of the names of the Ōsaka artists, some few facts derived from a careful comparison of their work may be noted.

The whole output of this group must have been the work of practically one generation, and have been produced during the period from about 1820 to 1845. The great mass of the prints by artists of each of the three sub-schools indicated above was issued by four publishers only; and the fact that they divided the publication among them indiscriminately—almost every man of importance having been employed by at least three, and occasionally by two at a time in the issue of series—shows that these publishers were contemporaries. Their names were Honsei, Wataki, Tenki (Temmanya Kihei), and Kinkwadō Konishi. Other publishers more rarely seen are Yamaka, Kinkodō, Shuwochō (who employed, but not exclusively, a small group of men with the

prefix "Ashi" to their names), Matsubaya, and Yamamatsu. The chief engravers—who also worked for different publishers indiscriminately—were Ono, Kumazō, Horikuma, and Horikane; and among the printers we find Suritoyo, Kwakuseidō, and I-ida. This last matter of engraving and printing is of special importance, for among the Ōsaka broadsheets we find some of the best printing done in the later period of the art. The colours, as already said, are always brilliant; and therewith are used metallic dusts, bronze and silver, with great effect, something after the style of the *surimono*, but with more breadth of treatment. Another slight variant in these prints was the fashion of making two and four sheet pictures; those of Yedo being almost invariably, when more than one sheet was required, either in three or five compartments.

Of the pupils of Kunisada who worked at Ōsaka, Gokotei Sadakage is one of the best. He drew with a graceful, expressive line, and his colour is good. He also made a few of the blue prints already spoken of, and did some large, broadly conceived heads of women. Kagetoshi was a pupil of this man.

Sadafusa (Gokitei, Kitchōrō) was a native of Ōsaka, as also was Sadanobu (Hasegawa, Kinkwadō). Sadafusa was contemporary with Kuniyasu and Gosotei Toyokuni, and worked in much the same style. There were two other artists of this name. All three used different characters for the final part of their signatures; but that of Hasegawa Sadanobu, the most important of the three, can be recognised, because it is the same in this respect as was employed by Harunobu.

By Sadanobu we have a print which not only gives a useful date for his own work, but also that of the publisher, Tenki, and the engraver Ono. It is a portrait of the actor Nakamura Tamasuke, made on the occasion of his death on the 25th day of the 7th month of Tempō 7

(A.D. 1838). As Ono also engraved prints by Ashihiro and Sadamasu ; and Tenki published others by Sadamasa, Sadatsugu, Sadahiro, Shigeharu, Hokuyei, Kunihiro, Hirosada, Hasegawa Nobuhiro, and Umekuni, we are able to fix all these artists as working in Ōsaka under the influence of the same movement. Sadamasa was first a pupil of Kunisada, but he also describes himself as a pupil of Hasegawa Sadanobu. Both these men seem to have been specially attached to another famous actor, Nishimura Utayemon, who must have been a favourite in Ōsaka, although he derived one of his names from the great Nishimura Theatre of Yedo. It is worth noting that Toyokuni I. also painted his portrait. Sadahiro (Gorakutei, Gōchōtei, Shōkwōtei) collaborated with Kunihiro in at least one case on the same print. This brings the publisher Kinkwadō Konishi and the artist Hokuju into the same line. Similarly, the fact that Sadayoshi (Kwaishuntei) published with Wataki, and that Hokuyei and Sadanobu also did so, as well as with Honsei and Tenki, enables us to associate all these personages. Yoshitsugu was a pupil of Sadayoshi.

Another group of Ōsaka artists included Ashiyuki (Kigwadō, Kigiokudō), by whom we have a portrait of an actor, made as a special gift to a friend, and dated 1824—Ashimaro, Ashihiro, Ashikiyo, and Ashikuni, the last a son of Roshiu, and called in private life Asayama Seiyōsai. Most of these worked for the publisher Shuwōchō, but some of them also for Honsei. Ashiyuki's prints are best known and most frequently found. There are no essential differences in style between them and the other Ōsaka men.

The only one of Shunyei's pupils who can be identified with certainty among the Ōsaka artists is Kintarō Shunyō ; but we are probably right in classing with him Shunshi (Gwatōken) and Shunshi (Seiyōsai), the latter of whom may be the same as Ashikuni The

prefix "Shun" was largely used for the secondary names of the pupils of Hokusai who lived at Ōsaka; who, in spite of their master's repudiation of Shunshō, may possibly have found it to their advantage to insist on the connection with so famous a theatrical artist.

Among those whom we should thus place in the Hokusai group, other than his undoubted pupils referred to below, are Hōrai Shunshō (Kochōyen), who certainly lived for a time at Ōsaka, but was working at Yedo in 1847; still another Shunshō (III.), a pupil of Hokushū; and a second Shunchō, probably a disciple of the same master, who collaborated with Shunkō in a three-sheet theatrical scene preserved in the Museum. Hōrai Shunshō, it should be said, is identical with Kunimori; doubtless, he attached himself to the style of Kunisada after his return to Yedo, where he was certainly working in the 7th month of Kokwa 2 (A.D. 1845).

Of the pupils of Hokusai who published prints in the Osaka style, Hokushū was one of the best and most prolific. His personal name was Shima Jūsen; he used also the professional signatures, Suiteisai, Kankanrō, Ransai and a special name Tōkio (meaning "dweller in the East," and not to be confused with Tōkiō, "Eastern Capital"), taken during a period when he studied the Chinese style; but his prints are generally signed Shunkōsai, and more rarely Sekkwatei, Hokushū. He illustrated many books, of which the earliest recorded, a "History of the Forty-seven Rōnin," was published in Yedo in 1808. Hokushū, however, was a native of Ōsaka, and all his coloured prints are associated therewith. They are boldly drawn in a somewhat tight, formal style, and are well coloured. The technical excellence of, for instance, a series of large portraits (the head and shoulders only) printed in an elaborate manner akin to that of the *surimono*, is undeniable and well

worthy of close study. The name of one of his printers, Kwakuseidō, is preserved. Two prints by him in the Museum are dated, and so will help in the estimation of the period of his work; one, Bunkwa 15 (A.D. 1818), the other a portrait of the actor Ichikawa Kanijūrō, made when he died, at the age of fifty-one, on the 16th day of the 7th month of Bunsei 10 (A.D. 1827). Hokushiu used on several of his prints the seal Shunkō, an abbreviation of Shunkōsai, and he gave this to his pupil Shunkō III., mentioned above. Of Shunkō III., the only other information we can give is that in Bunkwa 7 (A.D. 1810) he made a portrait of the actor Ichikawa Yebizō, then performing at the Kawarasaki Theatre.

Of Hokuyei, practically nothing is known but what appears on his prints. They are very common, and extremely similar in style to those of the last-named, with which they must have been contemporary. He was employed by each of the great Ōsaka publishers, Kinkwadō Konoshi, Honsei, Wataki, and Tenki; the engravers Kumazō and Horikuma reproduced his designs, and in one case, at all events, Suritoyo printed them. One set of prints by this artist, in the Museum, is worth a note, as illustrating the independence of the Ōsaka designers, at times, of their publishers. It is a set of six portraits of actors, in the characters of the Six Famous Poets, and was published in separate sheets by Honsei, Tenki and Wataki, though there is no perceptible difference in their style of production. On Hokuyei's prints are found the additional signatures, Shunkōsai, Shumbaisai, Shumbaitei, and Sekkwarō.

Shunshōsai Hokuju, in private life, Isai Shōtei, was illustrating books in 1810. He made one print of the Forum at Rome (Hayashi Catalogue, 1218), otherwise his work is on the same lines as that of the preceding. The engraver Kumazō and the publisher Kinkwadō Konishi were associated with him. Shunshōsai Hokuchō,

Hokumiō (Shunkōsai, Sekkōtei), Hokusei (Hokkai, Shunshisai) and Hokutsui also belong to the same period. Hoku-i, by whom was made the interesting print, described on page 143, is later.

Riūtei Shigeharu was a pupil of Shigenobu or Hokusai —possibly of both. He was a native of Ōsaka, and also used the signatures Giokuriūtei and Riūsai.

Other Ōsaka artists are: Shibakuni (Saikwōtei), by whom we have a print dated Bunsei 4 (A.D. 1821); Yoshikuni (Jukōdō, Toyokawa); Kitagawa Toyohide Ichiriūsai), whom one would be inclined to class as a pupil of Gosōtei Toyokuni; Nagakuni, who made a sort of coarse imitation of the style of Sharaku, and signed, "formerly Shuyei, pupil of Nagashige"; Hirosada, a theatrical painter with a somewhat distinctive style; Toyogawa Umekuni (Jukiōdō); Toyogawa Hidekuni, and Hasegawa Nobuhiro. All these can with certainty be referred to the Ōsaka School, not only because their prints were published in that town, but by reason of identity of style with that of the better known men.

We have left till last a notice of an interesting personality associated more with Ōsaka than with Yedo, though as a painter rather than as a colour-print designer. This is one of the earliest pupils of Hokusai, Kameya Saburō, to whom in 1816 the master gave his name of Taitō II. Later on he, as did many others of his school, established himself at Ōsaka, and actually tried to pass himself off as Hokusai. This man had kept an inn in the Shin Yoshiwara; he is also said to have been a *ronin* named Yendo Hanyemon (a discharged retainer of the Daimiō Ogasawara), and to have lived in the Kōjimachi quarter of Yedo; the first story rests on the evidence of a letter written by Hokusai. Drawings are still to be seen at Ōsaka with his signature, but the fraud was soon discovered and he received the nickname of *Inu*

Hokusai (Hokusai's dog). He also received the name of "the Ōsaka Hokusai." He worked at Yedo from 1830 to 1843; and in Ōsaka certainly during the period Kayei (1848–53), and is identical with Hokusen. His painting was a very able imitation of that of his master. We may say here that another artist, Hashimoto Shōbei, of the Asakusa district signed drawings "Katsushika Hokusai" (one dated 1855 is preserved at the Isayama Temple); but Hokusai's great-grandson states that the master never gave that name to anyone.

VIII.

THE PUPILS OF KUNISADA AND KUNIYOSHI.

The second quarter of the nineteenth century saw an enormous increase in the production of colour prints. The process had, during the preceding fifty years, reached its utmost limits of technique; and the widespread popularity of the artists already dealt with, had resulted in the natural effect of a corresponding increase in the number of artisans who turned to this method of gaining a living. For the present, whatever deterioration was to be seen in the inventive power and artistic skill of the *nishikiye* craftsmen generally, there was at least none in the arts of the engraver and printer. And so we find that a large number of prints of this period are beautiful in these respects, full of good pattern, still pleasant in colour, and in the highest sense decorative. Most of the men who made them were pupils of one or other of the great masters, and some are of considerable interest as personalities. Of them, Keisai Yeisen, one of the most prolific of the makers of coloured prints, is also one of the best known from a biographical point of view. And such insight as we thereby gain into his character is valuable inasmuch as it furnishes a type—the prevalence of which can be verified in other cases from many suggestive indications—of the social habits of the class of artists with whom we are dealing. By some remote connection he claimed kinship with the ancient and honourable Fujiwara clan. His father, Ikeda Yoshikiyo, was a painter of the Kanō School. His own names were Yoshinobu (Gishin), Zenjirō, and Risuke; and he was also called Ippitsuan and Mumei-ō. He was born

at Hoshigaoka in Yedo, and at first was well-to-do. Even yet he has a reputation for that characteristic virtue of the Japanese and Chinese—filial piety ; and it is recorded that after the death of his parents he maintained three sisters. His earliest artistic training was received in the studio of Kanō Hakkeisai, from whom he derived the name he nearly always associated with his own ; and he also acquired some reputation as an author. He then lived in the house of Kikugawa Yeiji, a pupil of Yeishi, with whom he is said, somewhat unaccountably, to have studied the Tosa style. No traces of this can, however, be observed in his work, and his next master, Shinoda Kinji (afterwards called Namiki Gohei), a composer and illustrator of humorous plays, was responsible for his instruction in the Ukiyoye manner, to which all his work is referable. After leaving Yeiji he lived for several years in Omi province, then returned to Yedo, Sōjūrō-chō. He began life on his own account by painting toys, kites, battledores, flags, and the like ; but after his first marriage he began to make pictures of women and to illustrate books. The remainder of his career makes a curious record. At the outset he achieved great popularity for his landscapes, which are more admired by the Japanese than they have ever been in this country. He accepted an order from a publisher to supply a series of views of Yedo, Kiōto, and Ōsaka ; and actually executed part of the work. But before its completion—he had received the whole payment therefor in advance — he calmly abandoned the project and betook himself again to his old occupation of painting kites. His reason was the quaintly philosophic one that he objected to becoming famous. Nevertheless he had spent the money in a wild bout of dissipation ; and the unfortunate publisher finally found him in a house of ill-repute, severely and even dangerously intoxicated. After this escapade he

left Yedo and went to Kawasaki, where he was entertained by Ikariya Rokubei, a fish merchant, who was a great lover of colour prints, and befriended the artist from motives of pure generosity. Here, again, the temperament of the man broke out of all reasonable bounds. He borrowed money from his patron, entered on another debauch, and was discovered at the end of it to have parted even with every item of his garments. Once more he found generous patrons at Kisaradzu, but with the same deplorable results. He then returned to Yedo, and kept open house to the worst of company until his landlord, fearing for his own credit, turned him summarily out of doors. Then at last he reformed. His first wife had died, and all we know about his family affairs so far is that, having no children, he had followed the Japanese custom and adopted a daughter. He now married again, and with only occasional short outbursts, devoted himself to hard and steady work, so that he soon amassed a competency. Again we find an expression of his innate humour and the odd, practical turn he gave to it; for saying that Fortune, if tempted too long, might go as easily as it had come, and that it were better for him to discharge his patrons than that, by reason of old age or incapacity, they should discharge him, he definitely ceased working, left his house, moving to Negishi, and retired to private life. This happened at about the end of the Tempō period (A.D. 1830–43). He afterwards moved to Nihombashi, No. 2 Higashi Sakamoto-chō, and died in the first year of Kayei (A.D. 1848), on the 26th day of the 8th month at the age of fifty-nine. His piety had never failed him. The Japanese story-teller relates that, under no circumstances, did he borrow from or go into debt to his relations or personal friends; these favours were reserved for dealers and patrons; whom, with a habit of thought not altogether without parallel in

European Art, he seems to have looked upon as fair game.

Yeisen's prints are very numerous, and his subjects almost entirely females of various classes. His early work is much in the style of Utamaro's later productions, and has a good deal of merit—some of the large portrait busts of women being the best. Afterwards he seems to have followed Kunisada in this class of work, and, like him, made a number of those fine prints in blue and red which have already been mentioned. Yeisen also came considerably under the influence of Hokusai. He was a good painter of landscapes (see Chapter IX), and illustrated a number of books in which he especially adopted the methods of the last-named painter. Of these, *Yehon Nishiki-no Fukuro*, Designs for Artists (Osaka, 1828); *Keisai Sogwa*, Sketches of Flowers, Fishes, Views, etc. (1839); and *Keisai Ukiyo Gwafu*, Pictures in the Popular Style of Scenes of the Seasons, Birds, Plants, etc., are the best known.

A pupil of Yeisen's, Teisai Senchō, called also Kichizō, Seichōsai and Sōgetsuyen worked in a style very like that of his master's later prints of women. He lived at Yedo, Reigan-jima. His dates of birth and death are not known, but his output must have taken place between the years 1830 and 1850.

Similar in style and date is the work of another artist, Kwasentei Tominobu, of whom we have no information, but who evidently belongs to this group.

Somewhat earlier than Yeisen, but on the whole closely akin to him in method, was Shunsen, a pupil in the first place of an artist of the Chinese School, Tsutsumi Tōrin, from whom he derived his earliest artist name of Shunrin. Later he worked under Shunyei, and then used the signature Kashōsai Shunsen, his own name being Saijirō. He lived at Yedo, first at Kōjimachi,

Kaizaka, and later, during the period Bunkwa (A.D. 1804–17) in the Shiba quarter of the same city, at Nakamonzen-machi.* During this time his principal engraver was Yamadaya Sanchirō; and among other work he gained especial credit by his illustrations to a romance, *Gengoro Bunna*, by Tōsai-an Namboku. After some time he moved to Shimmei-machi, also in Shiba, gave up the making of colour prints, and devoted himself to the painting of porcelain. His wife was a clever writer under the name of Gekkōtei Shōja. The date of his death is unknown. Katsukawa Shunsen signed his earliest productions Shunkō, but is by no means to be confused with Shunshō's pupil of that name. These prints are very graceful, more in the style of Kiyomine than of anyone else. Afterwards he has a good deal in common with Yeisen. His landscapes are notable, and are referred to elsewhere.

Both Yeisen and Shunsen produced some good two-sheet prints arranged in *hashirakake* form, which were actually mounted and used as *kakemono* by the common people. The Museum possesses a number of these, which form exceedingly effective decoration.

Kunisada's principal pupil was Takenouchi Sōkiū (or Munehisa), also called Utagawa, Kōchōrō, and Baichōrō. At first he signed himself Baidō Kunimasa III., but in Kayei 5 (A.D. 1852) he married his master's daughter and then assumed his name, Kunisada II. He died in Meiji 13 (A.D. 1880), on the 20th day of the 7th month, at the age of fifty-eight, and was buried at the Kōmiō Temple at Kameido. His work is better than that of some of his contemporaries, but does not show to advantage by reason of the deterioration of printing in his day. He sometimes signs "Kunimasa, pupil of Kwachōrō."

* Prints dated 1806, 1807 and 1811 have been noted in recent Sale Catalogues.

Most of Kunisada's pupils seem to have settled in Ōsaka, and are noticed in the chapter dealing with that school. They can generally be identified by the prefix "Sada," which is the token of their training. Among those who remained at Yedo, Sadahide may be mentioned. His own name was Hashimoto Kanejirō, and he also signed Gountei, Gōkuransei, Gōkurantei, Gōkuran, and Gōfūtei. Sadahide made some very fair landscapes with battle scenes, and his work generally is good of its class. He lived first at Kameido, near the Tenjin Temple, and then at Atakamachi in the Fukagawa ward, Yedo, and illustrated a number of books —particularly a child's version of the *Hakkenden* by Bakin, in collaboration with Kunisada, Kunitsuna, Kuniteru, Kunimasa (III.), Kunitoshi, and Kunitaki—which was published in 1849. He was still living in 1863.

Sadashige (Okada Tōshirō), alluded to above, under his later name of Kuniteru, was by no means an unskilful artist. He died on the 15th day of the 12th month, Meiji 7 (A.D. 1874), aged forty-five years.

Kunihisa was also a pupil of Kunisada, and married the third daughter of his master. He lived at Yanagishima, and used the secondary signatures Ichiriūsai, Ippōsai, Ichiunsai. He collaborated with Kunisada in the making of broadsheets, and the Museum possesses one specimen, in which the latter drew the figures and the former the scenery, which was done in Kunisada's seventy-ninth year (A.D. 1864, the year of his death). Kunihisa must not be confounded with Utagawa Kunihisa-jo, a female pupil of Gosōtei Toyokuni, and a rare example of the adoption by a woman of this craft. A specimen of her work is also in the Museum. Sada-uta, a female pupil of Kunisada, is not represented.

Another pupil was Kunichika (Arakawa, Yasohachi), who made the last portrait of his master, from which we learn that he was twenty-nine years of age in the

year 1864. He must have lived for a considerable time after that date, and his output was large.

Kuniyoshi also left a number of disciples, who continued to work in Yedo. They bear the final dissyllable of their master's name as a mark of distinction. Yoshitora was one of these, a native of Yedo, in which city he dwelt at Nakabashi Matsukawa-chō. He made a good many prints of military scenes in the style of his master, working until thirteen years after the latter's death under his own name, coupled with the signatures Ichimōsai or Kinchōrō. His own name was Tatsugorō. At the end of this time, however, he for some reason discarded his old connection, and henceforth signed his work Mōsai.

Yoshitoshi (Yoshioka, Yonjeirō), who also signed Gioku-ō-rō, Ōsō, Ikkwaisai, and Kwaisai, was an adopted son of Tsukioka Sessai. He was an artist of considerable power and imagination, and forms a connecting link between the old makers of colour prints and those now working in Japan, among the latter of whom he held quite the foremost rank.* He died on the 9th day of the 6th month of Meiji 25 (A.D. 1892), and was buried at the Sempuku Temple at Higashi Ōkubomura in Yedo. His later style has the merit of independence of the old stereotyped formulæ, into which the designers of colour prints had fallen; though it received scant justice at the hands of a decadent school of printers who used German aniline colours.

Yoshifuji (Nishimura Fujitarō) was a designer of military scenes and battle pieces. He also made prints for doll's dresses, and so gained the nickname Te-asobi (toys). His other signatures were Ichibōsai and Ippōsai.

Yoshikage lived at Yokohama, and painted prints and objects specially for export.

* Yone Noguchi. Yoshitoshi. *In* Japan Society, Trans. XII, p. 145.

Yoshitsuya (Mankichi, Ichiyeisai) was the son of a basket-seller, and lived in the Honchō ward of Yedo. He made book illustrations as well as prints, and about the period Kayei (A.D. 1848–53) is said to have been a competitor of Kuniteru in the making of *Ichimaizuri* (single page of print).

Other pupils of Kuniyoshi were Yoshikuni (Jukōdō, Shunkōdō, Toyokawa); Yoshikazu (Ichijusai, Ichikawa) who lived at Otobane in Yedo and was at work in 1853; Yoshichika (Chōkarō, Ikkeisai); Yoshiharu (Ichibaisai, Chōkarō); Yoshimori (Ikkwōsai); Yoshimune (Isshōsai, Shōsai); Yoshisato (Ichiyōsai); Yoshitsuna (Ittōsai); Yoshitaki (Ichiyōtei); Yoshitsuru (Isseisai); Yoshi-ume (Ichiyōsai, Nakajima Tōsuke), a native of Ōsaka, and several of even lesser importance. The names given above in brackets are actually found on prints by them in the Museum collection.

Yōshū Chikanobu, a pupil of Kunichika, was alive and still at work in 1902. Some few of his early prints are in the Museum. In those of the present time he has to some extent adopted the manner of Utamaro.

Chikamaru and Chikashige are probably pupils also of Kunichika. Chikamaro is a very different personality, for he is identical with Kyōsai, the last and one of the most interesting of those artists of the Ukiyoye who were of the first rank.

Kawanabe Tō-iku Kyōsai (Shōjō or Shōfu) was born in 1831 on the 7th day of the 4th month at Koga, in the province of Shimosa.* As a boy he worked for a short time under Kuniyoshi, but received his chief artistic training at the hands of Kano Tōhaku; soon, however, reverting from the traditions of the Kanō School to the wider and less restricted manner of the Ukiyoye. In his early days Kyōsai used the signature Chikamaro;

* Strange, E. F., The Art of Kyōsai. *In* Japan Society, Trans. XI, p. 263.

and, as remarked above, his productions of this period are formal and with little suggestion of the style he afterwards used with so great effect. Kyōsai attained celebrity at an early age; and, during the period of ferment which culminated in the revolution of 1867–68, he was three times imprisoned by the authorities of the Shogunate for the political offence of caricaturing them. After the assumption of power by the present emperor, a great congress of painters and men of letters was held at which Kyōsai was present. He, however, found enough to laugh at in the new state of things, and his caricature, inspired by this event, brought him again into the hands of the police. He died in 1889, at the end of a wild life of turmoil and dissipation—always in trouble, but always happy.

M. Guimet and M. Regamey visited Kyōsai in 1877, and have given us a pleasant account of the artist as well as an excellent portrait of him.* And in his own book, *Kiosai Gwaden*, he has himself left his autobiography, and illustrated it with sketches of amazing humour and force, the most noteworthy of which, from our point of view, are those showing him at work. This book was published at Tōkiō in 1887; it has four volumes, two of which are devoted to a history of Japanese painting, and two to the life of the artist, all illustrated by himself under the name Kawanabe Tōyuku. The text is by Uriū Masakazu.

Kyōsai has generally been said to have been a pupil of Hokusai, but so far as actual teaching, or even avowed study goes, this statement is without foundation. That he is to be classed with Hokusai above all the other artists of his school is undeniable. His artistic qualities closely resemble those of that master, his independence of tradition, his wonderful facility, his realism, his humour, and in no small degree the technique that he

* "Promenades Japonaises," 1880.

adopted in his paintings at times. He came too late to make many good prints, but some few are to be found which show refreshing originality. The Museum possesses several which illustrate his varied methods, that reproduced being perhaps the most delightful, as one of Shōki the Demon-queller is the strongest—and very reminiscent of his early master Kuniyoshi. Kyōsai also supplied a good landscape to a figure by Kunisada II. (E. 10337—'86), a two-sheet hanging picture. But in this case the student will find more satisfaction in accepting him as a painter, and studying the fine original drawings of fairy tales and illustrated proverbs, and studies in ink which the Museum is so fortunate as to possess. Kyōsai illustrated several books besides that named above, the best perhaps being his *Yehon taka-kagami*, Illustrations of Hawks, 1870; *Kyōsai Gwafu*, 1880; *Kyōsai Mangwa*, 1881; and *Kyōsai Suigwa*, 1882.

The art of colour printing has by no means died in Japan. During the early years of the Meiji period it touched its lowest point, when the designs were the merest travesties of the old work, though still keeping some remote semblance of its traditions, and the colour was crude, cheap and muddy. Still the engraver never quite lost his cunning, and the last score or so of years has seen a substantial and not unmeritorious revival.

The characteristics of the modern colour prints are such as clearly distinguish them from the older work. In subject, there is a wider range in general choice, though the two mainstays of the elder artists, the drama and the Yoshiwara, no longer furnish any appreciable number of designs for this purpose. We have, indeed, pictures of women, but they are the pleasant women of everyday life. The heroes of history are still favoured, and the fairy tales and legends supply a large proportion of ideas to the artists. Of pure landscape there is little; but it enters largely into compositions all the same, and

the treatment of flowers, trees, and such like natural features is more common and more realistic than before. The old conventions of drawing the figure have also yielded to realism, under the direct influence of European methods of instruction, now more or less practised in the schools and studios of Japan. The engraving remains notable, though not so bold and vigorous as of old. The block is cut with less depth and more littleness, though not with less precision so far as the reproduction of the artist's drawing is concerned. The colours show an improvement on the last bad stage, but do not approach those of the good period.

They are all European in character if not in actual origin, and are worked with a transparency quite foreign to the old methods. Still the result, considered by itself, is often far from despicable, and sometimes approaches real excellence, though always with a tendency to slight, perhaps dainty, prettiness, rather than the old virile force and beauty. The process of decline and revival can well be seen in the work of Yoshitoshi, mentioned above, whose long life embraced the whole period from the time when the ancient traditions were still comparatively closely followed, until that which saw the new school firmly established. In his case freedom from the fetters of the former proved a distinct gain in the matter of design ; for his later work shows more individuality, more resource and more imagination, than most of his earlier prints on the stereotyped lines. One must regret that he could not have developed in these respects while some of the old printers were available ; though, as he, in common with his fellows, had to make what would sell, that was hardly possible under the old conditions to anyone with much less independence of character than Hokusai possessed.

Of the actual men of the day one need do little more at present than give their names. Toshikata is a

pupil of Yoshitoshi, and himself has a pupil of promise, Kiyokata. His work is delicate, and when not disfigured with European ideas, it is quite good. Miyagawa Shuntei (Itsujin) may be a descendant of the old Miyagawa family, and sometimes signs also *gio-jin* (man of leisure) ; a hint, perhaps, that he wishes to detach himself somewhat from the professional colour-print maker. Shuntei is one of the most successful of the modern men in his treatment of landscape, and he secures as good a technical rendering of his designs as do any of his fellows. Gōsai Toshihide, also a pupil of Yoshitoshi, and a follower in subject of Kuniyoshi—and Tomioka Yeisen, are of the same school as those before named ; but Ogata Gekkō is an adherent of the Shijō School, which includes the best of the recent naturalistic painting of Japan. Gekkō is an artist who is not without official honour in Japan among painters. He has been awarded medals, and has himself served on juries of recent exhibitions of Japanese paintings—a fact worthy of note, for it illustrates a considerable change of idea as to the social place of the colour-print designer.

IX.

LANDSCAPE.

Japanese colour prints devoted to landscape form a class apart in the art of the world. There is nothing else like them; neither in the highly idealistic and often lovely abstractions of the aristocratic painters of Japan, nor in the more imitative and, it must be said, more meaningless transcripts from nature, of European artists. The colour print, as executed by the best men of the Japanese popular school, occupies an intermediate place; perhaps thus furnishing a reason why we Westerns so easily appreciate it. Its imagery and sentiment are elementary in the eyes of the native critic of Japanese high art. Its attempt at realism are in his eyes mere evidence of vulgarity. On the other hand these very qualities endear it to us. We can understand the first, without the long training in symbolism which is the essential of refinement to an educated man of the extreme East. And the other characteristic forms, in our eyes, a leading recommendation. In short, the landscapes of artists such as the Hiroshige approach more closely to our own standards, and are thus more easily acceptable to us than anything else in the pictorial arts of China and Japan; while they have all the fascination of a strange technique, a bold and undaunted convention, and a superb excellence of composition not too remote in principle from our own.

The Japanese treatment of landscape derives its origin from that of the classical Chinese painters. In the colour prints of the second half of the eighteenth century it generally appears as an accessory only, though

Toyoharu, Shigemasa and Sekkiō did interesting pioneer work in pure landscape. Such are the methods employed by Koriūsai, who is the first maker of *nishikiye* to use natural forms with distinction, and of Shunshō, especially in some of his rare *surimono*. Used simply as settings for figure subjects, the treatments of landscape by Kiyonaga, Kiyomine, and especially Shunshō, are worthy of study, as steps in the development which was proceeding. Toyokuni I., in some of his early work, followed the same lines ; while that of Toyohiro and of Hokusai approaches more closely to the Chinese School. The student will find the work of the former worth close attention, inasmuch as to him is possibly due the culmination of this branch of the craft in the person of his pupil, the first Hiroshige. Toyohiro was a master of composition. In colour he is sometimes weak, and his figures are small and placed with too casual a judgment. Moreover, he is too frankly dependent for his atmospheric perspective on those curious bars, generally of rose-pink, which run somewhat arbitrarily across many of the landscapes of the popular school ; and, being derived in the first instance from a well-known effect of morning and evening mist, soon became a mere trick to get the different distances of a view into proper relationship with each other. In the Views of the Six Tamagawa, a fine set of half-landscape half-figure subjects in the Museum, his colour is good and unusual, the use of purple and green being quite remarkable for such work as this. The large figures in this set hardly belong to the landscape, but on several of the plates will be seen smaller subordinate passages which are in Toyohiro's ordinary style. But it is reasonable to suppose that it was he who gave his pupil the first lead in the direction of landscape, which the latter ultimately followed to ends so magnificent. Shunzan made a curious set of the Views of Lake Biwa (*Omi Hakkei*), cleverly arranged compositions, quite

simple and small, coloured chiefly with pink and green, and each printed in a circle on a background of solid black, on which is a poem in white cursive characters.

Of about the same period are an early set of small "Views of Yedo," by Hokusai, of which the Museum possesses three (the full set consists of eight) (E. 23–25—1902). These are all to be considered together, though the drawing (especially of the foliage) of the latter is far the best.

Utamaro devoted his attention almost entirely to figure subjects, but he produced one marvellous set of designs of plants and insects, and a few remarkable landscapes. Of these some are without distinction; as, for example, his "Yodo Castle on the Yodo River" (E. 12823—'86), but on the other hand, the picture of moonlight from *Kiogetsubo* (1789), executed entirely in monochrome, is full of power, and shows that in the practice of the traditions of the classical school this artist was by no means beneath contempt. Hokusai has been more fully referred to in another chapter (Chap. VI.). But in this place it may be convenient to offer some criticism of this class of his work as it appears to the writer. His greatest series, the "Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji," consists, without exception, of masterpieces—but they are masterpieces of conception—stupendous effects of composition executed with unfailing boldness and directness of line. In this series Hokusai is working toward Japanese ideas, but in his own characteristic style. His colour is almost entirely subordinate, the symbolism is always in evidence, and the sweep of line, that highest criterion of excellence, in Japanese eyes, is, to us at all events, superb. No one can fail to appreciate the intense individuality of this work, which perhaps more than any of his other efforts has gained for him his reputation in Europe. The "Waterfalls" and the "Famous Bridges" rarely reach this level. In certain

other prints, notably "Illustrations for Children of the Hundred Poems" (E. 582—'99), and the "Views of the Loo-Choo Islands" his colour has much more to be reckoned with. Originality again is strong in these designs, but as pure line work they are less striking. This deficiency is to some extent redeemed by the bold contrast of colour—light blue and bright red, for instance, in one, and deep blue and brilliant orange in the other. The figures, too, are always of importance, and generally suggestive of a kindly humour. But in landscape, as in other branches of art, Hokusai stands apart; a strong man filled with the very soul of art, and happily gifted with means of expressing the emotions aroused in him by its innumerable phases.

But it is the first Hiroshige who laid down the lines on which these makers of colour prints, who devoted their attention to landscape, were henceforth to proceed. And although there are still certain doubtful points in the meagre accounts of his life and work, it is at last possible to clear away a few of the confusions, and to present at least a suggestive outline of the man's career.

Hiroshige was the son of Genyemon Andō, a hereditary fire official in the service of the Shogunate Government; his family name being Ando. During his boyhood he was also called Tokutaro, which name he changed to Jiuyemon during the middle period of his life, and later to Tokubei.*

The authors of "Masterpieces of the Ukiyoye School" state definitely that he was himself a subordinate official in the same service as his father; and that the journeys which provided so many of his subjects were undertaken in this connection. He resigned this post in 1823.

He is said to have shown great artistic talent even as a child and there is a Japanese story that when young

* E. F. Strange. The Colour-prints of Hiroshige. *In* Japan Society, Trans. IX, p. 114.

he gained his living by making roadside pictures with sand of different colours ; while the first account we have of him is a record that a certain Loo-Choo man, who visited Japan when Hiroshige was only ten years old, noted as one of the wonderful sights he saw, a sketch of the procession of the Korean Envoys entering Yedo in 1806, that the boy had made with all the skill and ability of a full-grown draughtsman.

Hiroshige's father appreciated this early promise and, in the first place, applied to a Kano artist, Okajima Rinsai, to give him lessons. He appears to have worked with this artist (who had himself been a police official) until his fifteenth year when he applied to be admitted to the studio of Toyokuni I., but that great artist had then no room for another pupil, and was obliged to refuse him. What the consequences would have been had he been able to comply with this request it is impossible to imagine ; but the event proved that in one direction at all events the younger man was the stronger personality. By the friendly offices of a bookseller, however, Hiroshige was received into the studio of Toyohiro, who with Toyokuni had been a fellow pupil of Utagawa Toyoharu. After the death of Toyohiro (in 1828) he began business on his own account, adopting and assisting his master's grandson Toyokuma ; having meanwhile chosen a name which should signify to all the source of its training, by its construction out of that of Toyohiro. He was formally authorised by his master to take the name Utagawa Hiroshige by a diploma dated 9th March, 1812, which is still preserved in a private collection at Tōkyō.

At this time he found that there was no market for the prints in the new style which he had already begun to develop, the public refusing to look at anything but portraits of actors and dramatic scenes in the manner of Toyokuni ; so he migrated from Yedo to Kiōto, where he published a set of views of the old Imperial city

and its neighbourhood. However, he soon returned to Yedo, and under more favourable auspices began to issue prints of landscape which soon became so popular that even the son of the great Toyokuni himself, Gosōtei Toyokuni, found it worth while to imitate him in a set of views, of which one is reproduced in the present volume.

In Yedo, he lived for most of his life at Ogachō, but towards the end of it at Tokiwa-chō and then at Nakabashi Kanō Shim-michi. He died in the year Ansei 5 (A.D. 1858), on the 6th day of the 9th month, at the age of sixty-two, and was buried at Asakusa, in the Tōgaku Temple at Kita-Matsuyamacho, receiving, after death, in accordance with Japanese custom, the name Issei Genkōin Tokuo Ryusaikoji. He seems to have been of a kindly nature, with a great love of humour and some literary culture. He was always fond of those little poems embodying, with some pretty fancy, a play upon words of the nature of a pun, which are so popular among the Japanese; and, among other work of the kind, he illustrated one well-known collection relating to his favourite Tōkaidō the *Tokaido Utashige*. Indeed, one of his own poems of this sort is preserved, the last he wrote, when the hand of death already lay upon him. It may be translated, "I have left my brush in Yedo, for now I go to the West, to a country of different landscapes."

Hiroshige II. made a colour-print portrait of his master when the latter died; and a fine statuette in wood is also in existence.

Before Hiroshige died, he had, in addition to Toyokuma, adopted another son, at first called Shigenobu* (not Yanagawa Shigenobu), but who succeeded to the name of Hiroshige II in January, 1859. The Museum contains prints by him signed Ichiyūsai Shigenobu.

* Mr. J. S. Happer first identified Hiroshige II. with Shigenobu. Sale Cat., June, 1909.

This artist worked with him and closely imitated his style; and it is to him that many of the prints hitherto associated with his master should be ascribed, particularly those upright single-sheet panels in which some conspicuous object appears in the foreground. He also used the signature "Ichiriūsai Hiroshige," the first of which names had been sometimes used by Hiroshige I., but had been for some time discarded by him. He married Hiroshige's daughter; but, some years after the death of his master, fell into some unnamed disgrace. He was compelled to leave Yedo and abandon his name, settling at Yokohama under that of Hirochika II. But I have never seen any prints thus signed. He died in 1869, in his 44th year.

Another pupil and adopted son of Hiroshige I. was Andō Tokubei, whose first artist name was Shigemasa (of course, not to be confused with the earlier and far superior man of that name). He worked for a time as Hiroshige III., but on the disgrace of the second of the name, he married the divorced wife of the latter and succeeded to the title Hiroshige II. He lived to a great age, and only died in Meiji 27 (A.D. 1894).

The distribution of the great mass of prints bearing the name Hiroshige among these three artists is by no means an easy task; for it is certain that before the death of the first of them, the two elder, at all events, collaborated to a considerable extent, and a good many landscapes must have been thus produced, the designs for which were based on sketches by the master, and worked out by a pupil under his supervision. Still there is little difficulty in allotting to Hiroshige I. the landscapes which were executed solely by him. His treatment of the figure is perhaps the safest guide in this operation. He drew it with more care than did either of his pupils, with more humanity and realism, often with a distinct touch of humour, and with more than a suggestion of

the style of Hokusai. Hiroshige II. as a rule made his figures smaller and more perfunctorily ; his compositions are far inferior ; and he displays a great lack of originality and invention ; his best work being traceable to a use of sketches left by his master. He had some skill as a painter ; but little, apart from his master's influence, as a designer of colour prints.

The finest work of Hiroshige I. is generally in single sheets, arranged horizontally. But he made several good compositions of larger form, which are very uncommon, but certainly represent him at his best. Among these may be specified a magnificent view, in shape of a *kakemono*, of Saruhashi, in the mountains of Kiso, a hanging bridge joining two high cliffs above a torrent, and with a great distance seen beneath it under the full moon. Another of similar form is " Kisoji in Snow," a scene in the same district. There are also, by him, examples of three-sheet compositions, arranged both vertically and horizontally, the Museum possessing one of the latter, the favourite subject of " Travellers crossing the river Ōi," on the Tōkaidō road.

It is the latter subject which supplied Hiroshige with the motive of his most famous publication, the *Goju-san-Tsugi*, or " Fifty-three halting-places on the Tōkaidō," the old route of travellers from Yedo to Kiōto. Nothing in Japan except Mount Fuji has been more often painted than this ancient way between the two capitals of the country, and no artist has done its magnificent scenery better justice than Hiroshige I. The full series contains fifty-five plates, views of the two cities being added to those of the fifty-three stages of the road ; and there are also in existence seven early prints which were re-cut with variations. The greater part of the set appeared in 1834, and thus takes early rank in the order of Hiroshige's work, among which it is generally accounted the masterpiece. The blocks were

printed until they were quite worn, late impressions having consequently blurred outlines and sometimes faults of register and colouring which easily distinguish them. They have also been re-cut for quite late editions.

It would take too long to enlarge on the beauties of this set. They form an encyclopædia of Japanese scenery; and the incidents of the road, drawn with unfailing humour, greatly add to the charm of the daring and effective rendering of the different landscapes. Perhaps the most famous of them is the "Rainy day at Shōno," in which a group of travellers, protected by native rain-cloaks of grass, are toiling up a mountain pass. Hiroshige I. made many other sets of views of the Tōkaidō, varying in size. A number of them are more or less represented in the Museum. This and other series of landscapes were the direct result of the artist's personal observations. Several of his diaries and sketch-books are still in existence, recording the simple but exquisite notes he made of subjects that appealed to him; and this was the material which he afterwards worked up into colour-prints.

One of our illustrations is taken from another smaller series of views, which, if not so well known, is in the opinion of many critics even more beautiful, the *Omi Hakkei*, or Eight Views of Ōmi (Lake Biwa). These are more delicately coloured than most of the Tōkaidō set, and conceived with great simplicity and refinement. They form a delightful rendering of the subject, seen from the eight points which Japanese tradition has from time immemorial decided to be the best. Their titles, may in this case, be given at length.

They are (1) The Autumn Moon from Ishiyama, (2) Lingering Snow on Hirayama, (3) The Glow of Evening at Seta, (4) The Evening Bell at Miidera, (5) Boats

* The greater part of 1st Edition was published by Senkakudō and Hoyeidō jointly; the later prints by the latter only.

sailing home to Yabase, (6) Bright sky and breeze at Awadzu, (7) Rain by night at Karasaki, (8) Wild Geese alighting at Katada. The illustration of these subjects, invariably the same, is not confined to pictorial art: they are found on objects of lacquer, metalwork, and pottery. The Chinese had a similar series.

Hiroshige I. made many sets of views of Yedo and the neighbourhood. A correspondent in Japan informs the author that he has collected examples from no less than thirty-five different series, and there are, doubtless, others still to be noted. Views of the six Tamagawa, eight of Kanazawa, and ten of Kiōto may also be mentioned.

Although neither is landscape, two classes of broadsheets may be mentioned here, one the well-known set of twenty different kinds of fishes, made apparently in competition with those anonymous drawings of similar subjects that were turned out in such large numbers during the first half of the nineteenth century; the other a number of sets of compositions of flowers and birds in the narrow, upright form. These, called *kwa-cho*, are always well composed, and are often extremely beautiful and decorative in appearance. They are most useful for designers. Hiroshige I. is said, by one Japanese authority, never to have painted in the ordinary *Ukiyoye* manner. This, however, is inaccurate, as several prints of female figures, rather like those of Yeisen, are to be seen in the Museum, and are undoubtedly by him. As a curiosity, mention may also be made of three prints made as advertisements for a dealer in inlaid shell-work, which are to be seen in the same collection, and have never been described before. They consist of clever and intricate groupings of the different objects the dealer had for sale. Specimens can, moreover, be referred to there, of his humorous designs and caricatures, a class of his work much esteemed by his Japanese admirers.

Hiroshige's landscapes are less striking than those of Hokusai, but the influence of the former is undeniable in some instances. While the latter compels our admiration by his original composition and superb and unexpected line, the former is more dependent on mass of colour and the effect of far-seen distance. No one renders a diminishing distance, with its almost infinite suggestions, better than Hiroshige. His composition is rarely forced, and in spite of a selection of subject which is anything but conventional, his picture comes easily and convincingly to the eye. As a rule he lays little stress on the foreground. His point of view is almost always from above, and at a great height; so that there are no strong contrasts of focus; and, so great is his skill, that the use of large details in order to put his middle distance and background into their proper perspective was never necessary to him, though in later work, where we suspect the collaboration of Hiroshige II., this end was sometimes gained by the ugly introduction into his picture of the legs of a horse, a great tree-trunk or something of the sort seen quite close to the observer.

We are inclined to look on this trick as one of the characteristics of Hiroshige II., who, moreover, rarely equals his master either in colour, the management of aerial perspective, or the drawing of the figures. He made or influenced the greater number of the later upright prints of ordinary dimensions; although in some of the best known series he was probably simply expanding sketches or compositions by his master, such as are contained in some volumes of original drawings by the latter in the collection of Mr. Arthur Morrison. An instance of this is to be seen in the "Views of Noted Places in the Provinces of Japan," published in 1856 (E. 4421–4488—'86), which, although probably by the second man throughout, is full of traces of work by the first. In another case we have definite evidence, for the

introduction to the "Hundred Views of Mount Fuji," issued in 1859, expressly states that though the series was not published until after the master's death, yet he himself made most of the designs, the work being completed by his pupils. Hiroshige II. made, however, several oblong prints, closely following his master's manner, but always noticeably inferior thereto. One print by the first has an historical interest, for it is a memorial of the famous visit of Commodore Perry and his squadron of the United States Navy to Japan in 1853. It is a view of Uraga bay, and in the foreground is one of the boats of the fleet flying the American flag, on which the stars are blue.

Hiroshige II. made a considerable number of prints of women and some of actors. Later prints are like those of Yeisen and Shunsen, and without distinction. The date of his abandonment of his name and calling in Yedo is unknown; but it must have been after 1863, in which year he made, to special order, a three-sheet print of portraits of the actors and musicians employed at the Bungobushi Theatre, Yedo, in commemoration of its foundation before the year 1609, and continued existence for a certain period of at least two hundred and fifty-five years. This print (E. 3927—'86) furnishes the best criterion for the separation of his *Ukiyoye* work from that of his master and of his fellow pupil Hiroshige III.

In 1918, on the 60th anniversary of the death of Hiroshige I., a memorial exhibition of his work, arranged as far as possible chronologically, was held at Tōkyō. The catalogue[1] contains valuable information on the subject; and the mere fact that this honour has been paid to one of the colour-print artists is a significant

[1] Catalogue of the Memorial Exhibition of Hiroshige's Works on the 60th Anniversary of his death. Compiled and published by S. Watanabe (Ukiyoye Association), Tōkyō, 1918.

tribute to the re-action on Japanese opinion of the estimate of the artist's merit formed, in the first place, by European critics.

The men named Hiroshige worked in conjunction with Kunisada, Kuniyoshi, and others; sometimes supplying the landscape to the figures, and sometimes making figure subjects for series, of which other artists made portions. It is probable that the third did most of the subordinate work, for the landscape is quite inferior to that of Hiroshige I. and II., who may have joined with (in these instances) Kunisada and Kuniyoshi, in such productions as the "Famous personages" each with one of the Hundred Poems (E. 4641-4740—'86); and the "Illustrations of Female Characters," each with reference to one of the stations of the Tōkaidō (E. 4584–4640—'86). To Hiroshige III. are to be attributed the "Thirty-three pictures of the Benevolence of the Goddess Kwannon," in which both Kunisada I. and Kunisada II. assisted, as of course the caricatures and other prints of obviously quite late date.

Hiroshige I. illustrated several books, among which are *Yehon Tebikigusa*, "Primary introduction to Pictures of Flowers and Fishes, for Children" (1848); *Shoshoku Gwaisu*, a set of designs, and two series of cursive sketches (1848–50, 1851).

Keisai Yeisen made a considerable number of admirable landscapes, working in a free and effective style. The best in the Museum are, a picture of fishermen catching fish by means of trained cormorants, around whose necks rings are fitted to prevent their swallowing the prey; and a view of Riōgoku Bridge, which has something in common with drawings by some of our own artists. The first-named is notable for an ingenious use of shows and reflections. The landscape backgrounds to a set of the Twelve Scenes from the Drama Chūshingura by this artist are broad and simple in style, and quite good.

Yeisen also made a set of "Waterfalls," in imitation of those of Hokusai, and he completed a series of "Views of the Kisokaidō" (Eastern Road), contributing twenty-two designs to the forty-eight made by Hiroshige I., whom he is said greatly to have influenced.

After Hiroshige I. returned from Kiōto and began to gain popularity for his landscapes, Gosōtei Toyokuni attempted to imitate him with a considerable amount of success. The Museum contains several of this series of prints, which are quite good in colour, though hardly up to the level of Hiroshige in composition. In them are crude attempts at the drawing of reflections.

Shunsen is responsible for a series of landscapes, slight, but quite distinctive in colour, green and rose pink being the characteristics of the scheme used. In these, figures play a prominent part, although not so much as to dominate a clever suggestion of outdoor effect, got with the simplest of elements. An almost invariable convention used by Shunsen is the delimiting of his sky a little below the top of the print, with a branched or broken bar of red; in this case a mere trick, though a pretty one, to help the distance. The composition is always very simple, and generally follows parallel lines.

Utagawa Kuninao drew a few landscapes of full size, rather coarsely printed, but having a certain force and some feeling for arrangement. The best are a set of four *Shiki-no Meisho*, illustrative of the seasons, of which two are in the Museum, as well as a third, "Gathering Shells at Low Tide," of the same character. Although it is not a landscape, strictly speaking, mention may be made of a three-sheet print representing a group of girls being carried bodily or on litters across the River Ōi by coolies—a really excellent print, and the best possible example of Kuninao's powers.

One would have expected from the pupils of Hokusai

a considerable production of landscapes, and that of a high standard. But although many colour-print makers tried their hands from time to time at this class of subject, none seem to have been able to persevere in it beyond the publication of one or two series ; with, of course, the exceptions of Hiroshige I. and II. It is to be supposed that although these, with Hokusai, were able to direct the public taste in this direction, they did it by sheer force of their genius, and that there was never any real desertion on the part of the common people of their favourite subjects—the drama, and the women of the tea-houses and Yoshiwara.

Hokkei, among Hokusai's pupils, made some very interesting essays in landscape. His treatment of it in *surimono* is always good, and in *Shokoku Meisho*—a series of famous views in different provinces—he shows a considerable trace of his master's influence, especially in colour and the drawing of the figures. His composition is weak. This set is of unusual dimensions, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches high only, by $14\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide. One of the subjects represented is an European ship of old and curious rig, saluting as she passes the hill Inasa, at the entrance to Nagasaki Harbour (E. 573—'99).

Shōtei Hokuju, a fellow pupil with the last, made some extraordinary attempts to draw clouds and shadows. His view of Riōgoku Bridge, Yedo (E. 1427—'98), is a curious instance of this. The figures are tiny, and hardly diminish for a considerable distance from the front of the scene ; but each has its careful little shadow, and so have the bridge, the houses, and the boats. Hokuju made an attempt to get the bridge into perspective, but failed badly ; his sky is a quaint attempt at realism. This print is less of a success than any ; it was experimental, and the artist was hopelessly out of his depth, amid methods unsuited to his art. In " Yenoshima," which he proudly labels *Ukiye* (perspective picture), the

perspective is fairly accurate; and the result, as one would expect, insignificant beside those obtained by the frank conventions of Hokusai and Hiroshige, who both understood perspective enough to know when to disregard it. Hokuju was at his best in such a view as the "Saruhashi" (Monkey Bridge) in Kōshū Province, one of those wonderful old timber constructions stretching over a ravine, which so delighted Hokusai. This is treated in a broad, simple style, with no European affectations save the clouds—and these unreal enough to be not quite out of scale.

Hokusui made a series of One Hundred Views of Kiōto, which are stiff at times, and generally of unequal merit. Here and there, however, he gets a good atmospheric effect, as in the rainstorm driving down on a procession crossing a bridge (E. 5001—'86). The Museum has only five of the series. Gakutei and Shuntei also produced good landscape.

Hasegawa Sadanobu comes rather within the school of the Hiroshige, for his landscapes follow somewhat closely the methods of the second of that name. When they are well printed, which is by no means always the case, they are quite meritorious. The Museum possesses his best set, the *Omi Hakkei* (Eight Views of Lake Biwa); which, though small, are quite pleasant and good in style and colour, and also a portion of a larger (but not full-sized) series, the Hundred Views of Ōsaka. The drawing of the figures in the last-named set is peculiarly reminiscent of Hiroshige II., but some of the colours are crude. Gountei Sadahide, fellow pupil with Sadanobu, produced some interesting topographical prints, generally of large size, and with slight attempts at pictorial effect. One of the best of these is a three-sheet (at least) subject, "The Buddhist Temple Hongwanji, at Asakusa" (E. 12148—'86). In this the great sweep of the curved roof is finely shown, and its dignity heightened by the

comparative insignificance of its surroundings and of the procession of very small, but very ceremonious, human beings, who make so little a show beside the huge edifice. The bird's-eye view of Yokohama (six sheet, E. 12151—'86) is interesting if only for the obviously European visitors seen in the streets. Among his landscape work on ordinary lines, Sadahide made a set of "Views of the Tōkaidō," and one of "Views of the Western Provinces."

Yoshiyuki, a pupil of Sadayoshi and an Ōsaka man, produced a series of a hundred views of that city, which should have a great deal of merit at their best, judging from the five which alone are found in the Museum. Two of these, a flight of wild geese in the rain, and a cluster of sparrows fluttering round the finial of a temple, are really excellent, but the others are not so good.

Kuniyoshi drew a series of "Views of Yedo," in the old style, but without much delicacy. His later work, with signs of European influence, is strong and original in design, and shows incidentally a much better treatment of landscape. Of the same generation, mention may be made of a pretty series of the "Eight Views of Lake Biwa," by Kuniyasu, small in size ($9 \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ inches).

Many other artists tried their hands at landscape. The Tōkaidō series, especially, became a mere formality, in the treatment of which there is nothing to choose between a whole group of men, mainly pupils of Kuniyoshi. Ichijusai Yoshikazu is one of the best of these. His "Tōkaidō," with humorous scenes, would often be excellent but for the figures. He made also two sets of "Views of Yedo." Yoshitora deserves a note for his curious pictures of London and Paris, and the absolute disregard of truth which those inventive compositions display in the grouping of details. He made a large bird's-eye view of the Tōkaidō in nine sheets, and another set of the "Views" in the stereotyped lines.

This last stage of decay in landscape saw all the beauty beaten out of them by mere formalism. The conventional signs are inserted by which the landscape is to be identified, and a procession introduced into the picture to help out the composition ; and, as a rule, that is all. Of this nature, besides that of the last named, are the Tōkaidō series by Yoshitsuya, Yoshimune, Yenchō, Kunitsuna, Kuniteru, and even Chikamaro, who under his better known name of Kyōsai did work so much more able and personal. The " Views of Ōsaka," by Yoshitaki, and of the Tōkaidō by Yoshitoshi, may, in conclusion, be mentioned as superior to the productions of the artists last referred to.

The student of this class of prints will find it instructive to refer to another style of treating landscape, by the use of colour prints, which is exemplified in various Japanese books published during the early part of the eighteenth century. In these, the view taken is broadly impressionistic, and the colours are light and merely suggestive ; the work following the methods of Chinese and Japanese painters to a far greater extent than do any of the colour prints. An excellent specimen of this style, in the Museum, is *Kiochu-no-yama,* by Hōsai, published in Yedo, in 1809 ; and others worthy of reference are *Fuso Meisho Dzuye,* a compilation by Kwaiyen, illustrated by Seiyō, in 1836 ; and *Ichiro Gwafu,* by Yashima Ichirō, perhaps somewhat earlier in date.

X.

SURIMONO.

The Japanese of the lower social orders have had for many years the pleasant custom of commemorating special events by sending to friends a certain kind of small print, wrought with special care, and generally inscribed with an appropriate poem. These are printed in colours by the same process as the ordinary colour prints, of which they are indeed but a refined development. They are almost invariably smaller in size, and in the making of them is found a more liberal use of metallic colours —gold, silver, and bronze. The paper is of a better average quality, and *gauffrage*, the heightening of portions of the design by extreme pressure, giving them an extraordinary relief and sharpness, is resorted to very often; this device being employed to invest plain as well as coloured parts of the print with a pattern. The Japanese say that the highest reliefs were obtained by rubbing with the point of the elbow. It is certain that some instrument harder and better defined than the *baren* must have been used, for in the Japanese colour printing of old days the press was never dreamed of.

Between the *surimono* (a word meaning simply "something printed") and the broadsheets there is also found to be an essential and important difference of plan. In the former, the drawing rarely covers the whole ground, the accompanying text having a value too great to permit of that. Indeed, the print may bear but a small group of symbolical objects, or even a single spray of flowers. What is essential is that the symbolism shall be supreme and thoroughly suited to the occasion; and

to this end a most charming and almost endless variety of devices has been used, in itself a fine testimony to the poetic imagination and play of fancy which seems innate in the meanest native of the Land of the Rising Sun.

By far the greater number of *surimono* are found to have been issued literally as New Year's cards. The celebration of the New Year is one of the most thorough and most delightful of Japanese festivities. At that time the "Ship of Good Fortune," with its crew of the Seven Gods of Good Luck and its Cargo of Sacred Treasures, is supposed to come into port, the *Manzai* dancers go about the streets, special food is prepared, and special decorations of good omen are hung up, as well as special prayers offered by the devout; and conjurations are made against all sorts of *Oni* or evil demons. It would take far too long to mention even the chief of the designs printed on *surimono* for these days. The Gods of Good Fortune, their Ship and Cargo, are of course frequently utilised. The animals representing the year of the cycle furnish another fruitful source of suggestion—thus, Hokusai made a *surimono* commemorating a visit to the Temple of Kameido, Yedo, on the 1st day of the year of The Hare (E. 157—'98). Flowers, again, are great favourites, as are such toys as the shell-game, and battledore and shuttlecock. Or popular heroes like Katō Kiyomasa, Yoshitsune, and Benkei, the Soga Brothers, or some of the Hundred Chinese Famous Men are quaintly depicted in glowing colours, always with some subtle allusion to future happiness.

But *surimono* were made for other purposes than the adornment of festivals. Many have been brought into being by specially successful meetings of clubs of artisans or tradesmen, at which the competitive making of poems was the attraction. Others, again, notify the birth of a son, a marriage, the retirement of a man into a Buddhist temple, or one of the many changes of name in which

a Japanese actor, artist, or poet indulges; a famous instance of the latter from our present point of view being that already mentioned (p. 48), issued when Kunisada changed his name to Toyokuni.

Often, but not always, the *surimono* were designed by those who used them, which fact accounts for the many unknown signatures which a collector meets with. But the professional makers of colour prints were certainly commissioned frequently to provide drawings for other people, in addition to those they produced for their own purposes. The extent to which this was carried is suggested by a *surimono* by Kuniyasu in the Tomkinson Collection, which is particularly described by the artist as "not made for sale"; while others not seldom bear the seal of the publisher. However, the work of the amateur is more often to be met with in this branch of colour printing than in any other, a matter which need occasion no surprise when one recollects how closely the arts of writing and of drawing are allied in Japan.

The curious account by Hoku-i of the history of engraving, quoted on page 143, relates, it may be remarked, that "in the period of Genwa (A.D. 1616–1623), Katsushika Hōkiūshi, a comic poet, who lived at Musashi, ordered Chikamatsu Riūsai to engrave on cherry wood a picture of a pine branch, and this was the beginning of *surimono*." Taking this statement for what it may be worth, the author can only say that he has met with none earlier than the fine set by Koriūsai* in the Museum. The subjects of these are birds of various kinds, and they are executed with wonderful accuracy and vigour; but, with the exception of a use of relief rare at so early a date, with no special variation in technique from that ordinarily used at the time. Katsukawa Shunshō made

* The statement, on page 19, that in Harunobu's time, New Year's *surimono* with five and six printings were first made, may refer to these.

a few fine examples, very rarely met with. In the next generation we find specimens by Utamaro—the Museum has two (E. 4003, 4004—1902) very early in date, with different styles of formal flower arrangement for subject —Toyokuni I., by whom also two prints can now be referred to in the collection, a portrait of the great actor Ichikawa Danjūrō (E. 163—'98), and Kaneko of Ōmi, a heroine of the thirteenth century, stopping a runaway horse (E. 4915—'86); a number by Shunman, whose designs are mainly based on flowers; and a most dainty series, exceptionally small in size, by Hokusai, the first of the uninterrupted succession produced by that great artist throughout his long life.

The latter are printed generally in three colours only, green and rose-pink being the prevailing hues; and the human figures are drawn in the style of the Ukiyo-ye, but with remarkable delicacy. They are catalogued in full by M. Edmond de Goncourt, who has also been able to date most of them by the symbols interwoven into the design, so they need not be referred to at greater length in this place. It only needs to note that the earliest, so far known, placed in the year 1793, is signed Mugura Shunrō, and represents a young water-seller, seated on the yoke which serves to carry his pots, near a piece of furniture with pots and pans. It was issued as an invitation ticket to a concert on the occasion of a change of name by the musician Tokiwazu Mozitayu. Later *surimono* by Hokusai are generally larger in size —about $8\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ inches. They are, more than any of his other work, carried out on the same lines as those of his contemporaries, but with a distinction of drawing and perfection of composition attained by few others. The Museum contains a fair number, representing each period; and among the signatures on them are to be found the following, in addition to his best-known name, Tamekazu, Ukiyo, Kakō, and Katsushika Taitō.

It is, moreover, to certain of Hokusai's pupils that we must look for the only prints of this kind that are worthy of being placed in the first rank with those of that master; and among them Gakutei takes the first place. Yashima Gakutei was known by many names. His personal appellation was Onokichi, he painted as Taikō, wrote (for he was distinguished also in literature) under the signature Horikawa-no-Tarō, and also used those of Shinkado and Harunobu II., while as a humorous poet he called himself of Kiūzan. He was born at Kasumigaseki, Yedo, and lived at Nihombashi, Sakamoto-chō and Ōdenma-chō. He visited Ōsaka, and stayed there for some time learning painting from Tsutsumi Shūyei. Afterwards he studied under Hokkei, and then with Hokusai himself. Professor Anderson states that he was a pupil of Katsukawa Shunshō, but I have been unable to trace any authority for this. The dates of his birth and death have not yet been ascertained, but his work belongs to the first forty years of the nineteenth century. His book illustration is worthy of mention, and the Museum possesses a volume of landscapes, printed in colours, *Sansui Gwajo*, published at Nagoya. Full-sized prints by him are very rare; the Museum includes the fine series of landscapes, published at Ōsaka in 1838, "Six Views of Tempozan," all signed Gōgaku. But his *surimono* are his best works, and of them examples are often to be met with. These are executed with great delicacy, and always printed with extreme precision, and superbly coloured. Often he employs, with great effect, a diapered background, lightly tinted, as in the set of courtesans each with emblems of one of the Taoist Sages, of which the Museum possesses four (E. 121, 122, 124, 125—'98). Other subjects deserving note are those taken from legends of history or fairy tales, as that of Tōbōsaku stealing one of the peaches of longevity from the deity Seiōbō (E. 178—'98), the Princess Kaga

ascending to the Moon (from the *Taketori Monogatari*, (E. 590–'99), or the Chinese Emperor and Yōkihi, the woman for whom he left his throne, playing together on a flute : the latter (reproduced in colour in the Tomkinson Catalogue) probably the finest print Gakutei ever made, having in its sentiment and the beauty and finish of its details quite an extraordinary kinship with the English paintings of the Pre-Raphaelite School.

Gakutei left one son, Gokei, whose reputation in Japan as a painter equals that of his father (see p. 40).

Next to Gakutei in merit, in this class of work, one would be inclined to place Hokkei, another pupil of Hokusai—indeed, in Japanese estimation, his best. The private name of this artist was Iwakubo Kinyemon, and others used by him were Hatsugorō, Saiyen, and Kiōsai (not the later artist of that name, see p. 87). He was also called Uoya, i.e., fish seller, for that was the trade he first followed, serving especially the house of a Matsudaira Daimiō. At this time he lived at Yedo at Samegahashi in the Yotsuya Ward ; but after a while he changed his residence to Nagaichō in the Asakusa Ward and became a painter, first studying under Kano Yōsenin Masanobu and then under Hokusai, from whose work his paintings can sometimes, only with difficulty, be distinguished.

Hokkei published a book in imitation of the great work of his master and called it *Hokkei Mangwa ;* as well as a series of illustrations to the "Lives of the Hundred and Eight Heroes," compiled by Tanekiyo and issued in 1856. He never painted actors ; and died on the 9th day of the 4th month, 1850, aged either 70 or 71 years. His tomb is at Aoyama in the Rippōji, and on his monument is the inscription "Grave of Kiyenrōjin Hokkei. He was an able artist ; he delighted in study of every kind ; he had, in his own house, several thousands of books."

The *surimono* of Hokkei are closely akin in style to those of Hokusai's later years; fine in colour, and where figures are introduced they are drawn with more actuality and less convention than is generally found in work of his sort. His colour, indeed, is always good; and his subjects have the usual range, but with such a strong personal flavour as shows more clearly than does the work of any other of his class, how thorough was his recognition of the fact that the change of trade from that of fish hawker to that of artist implied no alteration of social standing. Thus, taking the specimens in the Museum Collection alone, we find two in which his earlier calling suggests the theme. One (E. 4746—'86) has a jar with a *Tai* fish; and another with a hawker selling *Haze* fish (a sort of goby), the results of his first fishing in the New Year.

Other pupils of Hokusai who produced *surimono* were: Teisai Hokuba, who made a few charming prints in his master's first style; Nanyōsai Hokuga, the designer of several which are broader in treatment than usual, and have fewer of the general characteristics of *surimono* and more of the paintings of the school, and Hokumiō, one of the Ōsaka artists. These are elsewhere referred to at greater length, as is also Yanagawa Shigenobu, Hokusai's son-in-law, by whom a set entitled "The Hundred Beauties" is worth particular notice. Shinsai and Isai are known only by their *surimono;* but some of these are by no means rare. The circumstances under which this name was handed on to him by Hokusai have been already set forth. His family name was Hanjirō Masayuki, and his other artist-name, Riūriūkiō. In the case of one print by this artist, we have the name of the engraver and printer who collaborated with him—Matsuhiko.

Of the same period, but in style more closely approaching to that of Yeizan, are three prints in the

Museum Collection, of Yoshiwara women at different seasons of the year (E. 147–149—'98) signed Harukawa Goshichi. No biographical account of this artist has yet been published; but I am now able to give some slight outline thereof. His family name was Kamiya Kamesuke, and he was also called Rōshū, under which signature he made a few *surimono*. He was born at Yedo, but at the end of the period Bunkwa (A.D. 1817) he moved to Kiōto. At Yedo he had worked under the painter Harukawa Yeizan—not the colour-print artist. He had a reputation as a painter for the fineness of his line in the drawing of portraits of actors, and made a few *surimono*, which have the same quality in a very marked degree; indeed, their delicacy is quite extraordinary. The dates of his birth and death are unrecorded. The last of the artists who made a speciality of *surimono* and deserves notice for the quality of his work, is somewhat later than any of the preceding, Suiyōdō Kakio Hanzan was a painter of Ōsaka, who, in addition to prints of the ordinary dimensions, made several of much larger size, about $15\frac{1}{2} \times 21$ inches. His work dates from about 1840 to 1860, and is broad and effective, if somewhat coarser in execution than that of his predecessors. One good example may be mentioned, "The old bamboo cutter with the baby princess of the moon," from the *Taketori Monogatari*. Nihō, another artist of the same period, with a decided gift for landscape, worked in a similar way and is responsible for an interesting view of the Castle of Ōsaka from Sakura-no-miya.

But many of the colour-print designers of the second quarter of the nineteenth century produced examples of this delightful art. The Museum contains several specimens by Kunisada, all belonging to his later years, and in the style characteristic of that period. Keisai Yeisen is the maker of an interesting series, "Women in the characters of the Seven Gods of Good Fortune"

(E. 13283–13287—'86) and another which gives a pretty frank exposition of his own pursuits, "The hero Asahina drunken with wine" (E. 13282—'86); and Sadakage made one pleasant fancy, a "Peasant woman leading an ox laden with fuel, listening to a nightingale singing beside a waterfall."

It should also be mentioned that the Museum possesses some excellent specimens of original wood-blocks for *surimono*, including examples by Gakutei and Hokkei.

XI.

TECHNIQUE.

The history of the art of wood engraving in Japan goes back to a very remote period. M. Terrien de Lacouperie, in his "Origin of Chinese Civilisation" (1894), says that "*Hiang-liang* styled *Kin-to*, first printed books about A.D. 330 at Tcheng-tu." The art was thence introduced into Japan, probably by way of Korea, and during the period A.D. 764–779, the Empress Shōtoku, "in pursuance of a vow, ordered a million small wooden toy pagodas to be made for distribution among the Buddhist temples and monasteries of the whole country, each of which was to contain a dhâranî out of the Buddhist Scripture entitled 'Vimala nirbhasa Sûtra.'" These texts were printed on paper, eighteen inches in length and two in width, from plates of either wood or metal. There is no doubt that among many forgeries a number of originals still remain, sufficient to prove the truth of the statement. Earlier than this we have in the *Nihongi*—one of the two chronicles of Early Japan —a record dated in the 3rd month of the 18th year of the Emperor Sujun Tennō (A.D. 610), to the effect that "The King of Koryŏ (Korea) sent tribute of Buddhist priests named Tam-chhi and Pŏp-chŏng. Tamchhi knew the five (Chinese) classics. He was, moreover, skilled in preparing painters' colours, paper and ink." The same work also has several references to the painting of pictures during the seventh century of our era.

The earliest books were what we call block-books, *i.e.*, they were printed from engraved blocks of wood instead of from type. This practice, which was universal

until the last few decades, and is still much favoured, is the cause of the existence in Japan of a school of facsimile wood-engraving which has never been surpassed in any other country.

Although the term *suri-hon* (printed book) was used in A.D. 987, we have no authentic record of the production of one until A.D. 1172, when an edition of the "Seventeen Laws," appeared—"the earliest Japanese book of which any record exists."* During the next two hundred years other books were published, some having a few rough wood-cuts; but while the first known Chinese illustrated book known, the *Kwanyin Sûtra*, appeared in A.D. 1331, and the Koreans produced several during the fifteenth century, the history of Japanese book illustration begins with the "Ise Monogatari," issued in A.D. 1608, a date to be noted in connection with a theory put forth below. After this, illustrated books become more and more frequent, and the practice of colouring the cuts by hand was often adopted; but, so far as present research has gone, colour printing in Japan begins with a series of two hundred patterns of *kimono* (the outer robe worn by women) dated 1667,† of which the second volume is in the Museum. These are printed in at least four colours, only one of which is used on each plate, namely black, olive green, red and blue. Of course, as these colours are used singly, it cannot be claimed that the result is colour-printing in the ordinary sense of the term. But the mere employment of coloured inks is a step of great importance, from which the full achievement was a natural and easy development.

Arrived at this point, it is possible to give a full description of the Japanese method of making colour

* Satow (E.)—On the Early History of Printing in Japan. Asiatic Soc. of Japan; Trans., Dec., 1881.

† A Chinese colour print of 1625 has been recorded.

prints, which arose in the course of the next century, and has been continued without essential change to the present day.

To begin with, the design was made by a painter, generally of low degree (see p. 4), who made his first drawing in black, with a brush held vertically and loaded with pigment on thin semi-transparent paper (*minogami* or *gampishi*). This was passed on to the engraver—always another individual—who pasted it, face downwards, in order to overcome the difficulty of reversal, on the block of soft wood—of the *sakura* (a species of cherry) for choice. This block was not cut across the grain, as are those of European wood engravers; but parallel thereto, in the style of Albert Dürer and his contemporaries. In order to make the drawing clearly visible in its new position, the paper was oiled, or even scraped, with a knife, until every line became quite distinct; and the engraver followed the design throughout with a knife, held in the right hand and guided with the left, so as to mark out the whole composition with cut lines. The superfluous wood was then removed by a series of straight and curved-edged chisels, not differing greatly from those employed by European carpenters, and the drawing thus left in bold relief. It will be seen that this process has always absolutely destroyed the original; so that the claims made on behalf of certain drawings, which at one time or another have come into the market, of being the original sketches of this or that print, are entirely without foundation. Such are, of necessity, either copies or tracings. But the Museum possesses several sketches which are certainly unengraved designs, and show how the draughtsman worked. Before passing on, therefore, attention may be called to a peculiarity of some note. The thin paper used made correction impossible by the ordinary methods. The Japanese artist therefore re-drew the portion of his

composition that he wished to alter, and pasted it over the old work, probably making a tracing or clean copy for the use of the engraver. Examples of this procedure will be found in the valuable sketch-books of Kuniyoshi, now in the museum (D. 1144–1173, 1194-1210–'89.)

The completed block furnished the key of the whole, and supplied the black outlines of the entire picture. From it proofs must have been taken, on one of which the artist indicated each colour to be employed, and these again provided the engraver with the means of making a set of additional blocks—a separate one for each colour. Over-printing, although sometimes resorted to, was very rare, and for all ordinary purposes may be ignored.

At this point the co-operation was needed of a third person, the printer, whose process, a singularly interesting one, differed in almost every respect from those used in Europe. In the first place, his colours, in the form of a fine powder, were placed dry upon the block, and there mixed for use with thin size made from rice, a brush somewhat similar in shape to that used by our white-washers being employed for the purpose. The rice-paste not only fixes the colours, but is found to give them a peculiarly brilliant and pure quality. The paper is made from the inner bark of the young shoots of the mulberry tree cut in the "withy" stage. It is of great toughness, and also has the power of absorbing ink or colour to a considerable degree without blurring—another factor of high importance in the production of the result. It is first damped by means of a brush to an extent hardly definable, but fixed by the skill of the craftsmen, and in this state is laid on the top of the block, on which the colours have been carefully arranged, delicately graded when necessary, or even, if the effect require it, wiped clean away. In this latter process the grain of the wood is often made to appear so as to furnish a suggestive

texture which may help the design. A notable example of this is a print by Hiroshige (E. 10—'97). The actual impression is taken by rubbing the upper (and, of course, reverse) surface of the paper upwards with a circular movement, alternating from right to left, with a pad called the *baren*, consisting of a disc of hempen cord, wound flat-wise round one of its ends, fitted into a socket of paper and cloth, and the whole enclosed in a sheath of bamboo leaf, of which the ends are gathered up to form a handle. The prints are, as finished, hung up on lines to dry. Accuracy of register is secured by the simplest means, a cross cut in the wood at one corner, and a line on one side; the main reliance of the printer being on a wonderful perfection of craftsmanship.

In a three-sheet print by Utamaro, two sections only of which is in the Museum, and an imitation of it by Kunisada, which is complete, the whole process of engraving and printing is clearly displayed; though, following the fashion of colour-print makers, the workers illustrated are all women instead of, as was invariably the case in fact, men. Herein may be seen the first cutting, the finishing of the block, grinding the tools, damping the paper, and in a side room the equipment of the colourist—brushes, pots of pigment, and block on a low table with a *baren* lying beside it.

The colours used were, during the best period, mineral and vegetable substances, pretty much the same as our own. A list of them is given by M. Régamey,* which may be summarised as follows:—

Tamago, clear yellow (egg-yolk).
Toka, dark chestnut.
Ai, dark blue.
Kusanoshiru, lettuce green.
Yamabuki, clear orange.

* Régamey, F., "Japan in Art and Industry." English translation by M. F. and E. L. Sheldon, 1893.

Yubana, mastic white (sulphur deposit).
To-no-tsuchi, silver white.
Chiai, vermilion.
Taïcha, red brown.
Sumi, black.
Beni, red.

In Kiōsai's book a full description of the palette of that painter is also given. It is remarkable that blue was hardly used before the end of the 18th century.

As a general rule the ground of the composition is furnished by the natural colour of the paper. Sometimes, however, this is found to be of a deep brown, which is perhaps the result of a stain. But one notices frequently that the artist has felt the necessity of forcing the high lights to a greater pitch than simple printing would give; and has achieved this by the use of an additional printing which covers all the background—yellow being most frequently met with, though a silvery uneven grey was also employed with telling effect by Toyokuni I. and men of his school. Some fine prints, called *kiraye,* of this period, are on a specially thick paper, powdered with mica dust.

The use of metallic powders was chiefly confined to the *surimono* (see p. 110) and prints of the Ōsaka School, those mainly used being gold, silver, and a greenish bronze. In the former class we see the art of printing at its highest stage of technical excellence. The register is marvellous. In all Japanese colour prints it is secured by simple guides cut in the block—a cross at one corner and a line at one of the opposite sides. In many of the ordinary broadsheets this may not be always precisely accurate; indeed, there are sometimes reasons for concluding that a softness of outline was deliberately procured by avoiding a too exact adjustment. But one never finds the variation of a hair's breadth in *surimono.*

In addition to the blocks for various colours, an effect of blind printing (*gauffrage*) was often secured by the use of an additional printing from a clean block, and by this means a relief of surprising sharpness and durability was procured. A Japanese story is that the extreme forms of this were made by rubbing off the impression with the point of the elbow instead of the *baren;* a possibility which fails to astonish among so many other evidences of almost incredible handicraftsmanship. This is made use of for diapered backgrounds, patterns on textiles, or even to take the place of extreme delicacies of drawing. In such cases it could not, of course, have been produced by the artist in his original design, and its existence, therefore, implies some superintendence by him of the actual process of printing.

During the last half of the nineteenth century, the use of crape-paper became common, and the process of its manufacture is so ingenious as to merit a description in some detail. The paper used was of the ordinary kind, and the print made in the manner already described. A number of prints are then damped, and tied round a fixed cylinder of smooth wood, on the upper and uncovered end of which a collar works up and down by means of a lever so as to bear with a considerable amount of force on the edges of the bundle of prints. The working of this compresses them inwards. When this process has been sufficiently applied in one direction, the bundle is unfastened, the prints re-arranged relatively to each other on a definite system which brings the other edges in turn under the collar, the whole process being repeated until all the prints have thus been treated at practically every possible angle. The final result is a crape-like quality of the paper, and its reduction in superficial area to a small fraction of its original size; every detail of the design being preserved in a most remarkable manner, while the quality of the colouring

is much improved. As an instance of this the two prints in the Museum by Kunitsuna (E. 10431—'86 and 24705–2) may be referred to. They are both from the same blocks, and if the smaller one were damped, and carefully rolled out, it would resume the proportions of the greater. In this connection it may be pointed out that most old Japanese colour prints may quite safely be soaked in water; in some of the more modern ones, a crimson lake, imported from Europe, is, however, liable to run to some extent, even when great care is exercised.

One or two points are worth bringing out in connection with the colours used. The key-block was almost, but not quite, always printed in black. Utamaro, however, occasionally used a fine red for his outlines of faces and other undraped portions of the figure; and Shunman followed his example in at least one superb specimen in the Museum (E. 34—1902). During the third quarter of the nineteenth century, a marked deterioration of colour is found, due to the importation of German pigments, a particularly offensive violet being one of the most characteristic faults of this period. The colours were then applied without much discrimination or taste; and although the engraving itself has never quite lost its quality, for about thirty years the prints produced are not comparable in technique with their predecessors. After about the year 1880, an entirely new class of colouring is met with. Aniline colours are now used almost without exception, and the result is a greater transparency of tint, the old opaque manner of mixing the pigments having been quite abandoned. The result is pleasing and has a facile delicacy; but, withal, gives a suggestion of cheapness and weakness from which the older prints are entirely free. In other respects the technique of modern prints remains unaltered.

The old colours are now almost unobtainable in

Japan. Kyōsai, the last of the great Ukiyoye artists, treasured some small fragments during his whole life. He would show them with pride to pupils and friends, explaining that he reserved them for some special great occasion which he still awaited. But he never found it, and to the day of his death could not bring himself to use them.

The old prints fade, and much of the tone admired by some amateurs has been thus caused. Their fading, however, is quite harmonious. The colours keep their proper relation to each other to a surprising degree. This is not the case with those in which European pigments have been used. These fade also more rapidly, and to a greater extent, but much more unequally; so that while some mellow to a quite pleasant softness, others persist in all their vulgarity, to the utter destruction of the composition. The paper, also, deepens in tint to some extent under the influence of light and exposure to the atmosphere; but, as already pointed out, the extreme brown tones met with are probably due to artificial means, or to the effect of charcoal braziers, on prints mounted on screens in living rooms.

Prints were made as a rule in a few standard sizes, a dimension of about 14 × 10 inches, either vertically or horizontally arranged, being the most common. Other varieties were the *hosoye*, small, narrow prints, as a rule, portraits of actors; *hashirakake* (panel pictures), longer compositions with less width in proportion to their height, sometimes in one sheet, and sometimes in two placed one over the other. Examples of these are about 22 × $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size. Occasionally, again, two sheets of the common dimensions were used in the same way; and both these latter kinds were roughly mounted on rollers in imitation of *kakemono* (hanging pictures), the paintings of the wealthier class, and so used by the common people. The Museum possesses a number still

in this condition. The sizes of the *surimono* have already been given.

Compositions often occupied more than one sheet, the usual arrangement in this case being of three or five; though, especially at Ōsaka, two and four sheet prints are by no means infrequent. Sometimes six, or even seven sheet prints are found. This practice is said by Captain Brinkley to have been introduced by Kiyonaga in 1775. One example of a rare arrangement of a six-sheet print (by Toyokuni I.) has already been mentioned; this consists of two sets of three placed one over the other. Some of the landscapes are of three sheets, arranged horizontally. Colour prints were also made for fans, and designed to a shape specially suitable for this purpose. The Museum has some fine examples of this nature by Hiroshige, Kunisada, Kuniyoshi, etc.

To prints coloured by different processes specific names are given. Thus those tinted by hand, if specially in yellow, are termed *tanye;* with lacquer colours, *urushiye;* early prints tinted in red only, *beniye.* A special method of printed colouring in blue; blue and red; or blue, red and green, in imitation of Chinese porcelain colours, has several times been referred to; those in blue are termed *aizuri.*

From the earliest times of the art, prints were distributed through booksellers, whose names or seals often were engraved on them. The relationship of the makers to these publishers was generally that of workmen to their employer. Sometimes, as in the notable cases of Utamaro and Keisai Yeisen, the artist was actually boarded by his publisher, although this does not appear to have been a general rule. Sets of prints were sometimes issued, part by one publisher and part by another. It is probable that the engravers, and especially the printers, actually worked directly for the publisher; it is comparatively rare to find their names on a print;

but there are instances where it is specified that the same man was both publisher and printer, though none have so far been noticed where the former was identical with the engraver. This arrangement is doubtless responsible for the decadence of colouring, noticeable in the nineteenth century. The publishers, under stress of competition, must have welcomed the cheaper foreign pigments, and used them without consideration for the artist's feelings in any degree. In earlier times the latter would probably have exercised some supervision over the printer, or at least have approved his work, though there is no record of any definite relationship between them. Indeed, the silence of the Japanese historians on the subject of the engraver is one of the most curious and, to us, unaccountable features of the whole problem. At *fac-simile* reproduction the Japanese engravers have been—indeed are—perhaps the most skilful in the world. But they seem to have been looked on as mere mechanics, and the whole art to have been utterly ignored in a country where all the other artistic crafts have always been held in high esteem. Of course, it must be said that their work was entirely mechanical. There was never any original engraving in Japan; and not even the latitude for interpretation, such as was allowed to, or taken by, the British wood engravers of the sixties, or the Americans and French of the generation that followed them. The artist made his design, exactly to the smallest detail, as it was to be reproduced, and the engraver had only to cut it on the wood, line for line and point for point. How well he did this, even in recent years, can be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum, where an original drawing for Kōno Bairei's "Book of Birds" is exhibited side by side with proofs and blocks. In this case the drawings were preserved, having been copied for the purposes of the engraver; fortunately, inasmuch as they furnish

undeniable evidence of the amazing skill of the latter. For, in spite of the intervention of the copyist, it requires a close scrutiny to tell which is the drawing and which the print. In this place it may be worth while again to mention that the Museum also possesses a number of original blocks as well as a complete set of blocks, working proofs, tools and materials.

It is by no means infrequent to find on the prints of the nineteenth century an addition to the signature to the effect that they were made "by special order." One would imagine this to imply that the giving of a direct commission to the artist was at that time sufficiently notable to be worthy of record; and, consequently, that most of his work was undertaken at the instigation of the publisher only. This view is supported by the inscription on the print mentioned in Chapter VII., which celebrated the visit of Kunisada to Ōsaka.

We owe to Mr. J. S. Happer* the first indications of the true meaning of various seals found on a number of colour-prints chiefly from 1842 onwards; but, as pointed out by Mr. S. Tuke, also occurring occasionally on earlier examples. These are Censors' seals, circular in shape and current from the year above-named until 1853, when an *aratame* (examined) seal was substituted. Such seals had reference to certain sumptuary edicts issued by the Shogun's government restricting the publication of the "sale or purchase of single prints of actors, courtesans, geishas and such-like, being detrimental to morals"; and these restrictions had, no doubt, a direct influence in the popularisation of landscape subjects which were free from the stigma of immorality. Mr. Happer also indicated the use of date seals, which, though not confined to the above period, were then most freely used and have been of great service in working out the

* Sale Catalogue of the Happer Collection, Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, Part 2, 1909.

chronological sequence of work. Major J. J. O'Brien Sexton* has very thoroughly explored the possibilities of this discovery and his valuable essay on the subject gives a full account of it.

The artist frequently used a seal, as well as his engraved signature, and occasionally the publisher did the same. But the latter more often had a device, sometimes symbolical, sometimes an abbreviation of his names, cut on the block. Examples of these abbreviated renderings have been given in the chapter on the Ōsaka School, and other instances can be seen in the Catalogue of Japanese Prints in the Museum.

The Boston Museum of Fine Arts possesses a complete set of tools and materials used in the production of colour prints, which are fully described and illustrated in a report by M. Tokuno, with comments by the late Mr. S. R. Koehler, in a paper published in the Report of the Smithsonian Institution, United States National Museum, 1892, page 221. The similar collection now acquired for the Victoria and Albert Museum, should be of great service to the many artists in this country who are attempting to work in this fascinating medium. The possibilities of European artists succeeding in the practice of the process are now fully proved ; and, following the pioneer work in this country of Professor Morley Fletcher and Mr. J. D. Batten, a number of British artists are now producing excellent colour prints by the use, not only of Japanese methods, but of their tools and other accessories. The Museum contains a good representative series of this work which is rapidly developing a character of its own, quite free from any attempt at imitation of Japanese ideals.

Reference has elsewhere been made to the illustration by Hokusai of the shop of his publisher, the well-known

* Sexton, J. J. O'Brien. The dating of Japanese colour-prints from 1842. *In* The Studio, lviii, p. 313, 1913.

Tsutaya. We may supplement this by an account of a portrait* of another equally famous bookseller, Yeijudō, whose imprint is met with at least as often as that of the former. This was executed by Toyokuni I., and represents Yeijudō seated before a singing-desk, with a *No* dance fan, a pleasant indication of his favourite pursuits. Behind him is a screen, with illustrations of the three lucky subjects of dreams—Mount Fuji, a hawk, and an egg-plant. The inscription records that it is a portrait of Yeijudō Hibino at the age of seventy-one, and it bears his trade stamp. The value of this print is more than that of a curiosity. Toyokuni I. died in the year 1825, and Yeijudō cannot have lived much longer. We have, therefore, a safe indication by which to judge the date of prints published by him, so far as lateness is concerned, in the cases of those men who outlived Toyokuni; and the sum of definite evidence towards a chronological classification of any artist's work is so small as to make anything of this sort a most valuable auxiliary to the student.

* In the collection of the Hon. Walter Guinness.

XII.

SUBJECTS OF ILLUSTRATION.

A short essay on the chief subjects to which the makers of colour prints devoted their attention is a necessary accompaniment to any work dealing with the prints themselves—for by no means is one better able to estimate the manner of the appeal they made, and of the audience to which it was directed. Before entering into a consideration of this matter, it is as well to set forth in definite language what will, to some extent, have already been gathered from the preceding pages. The painters of the Ukiyoye School were, almost without exception, men of the artisan class. They worked for small wages; even, a few years ago, earning only from fifty to seventy-five sen *per diem* (from one shilling to one shilling and sixpence). They were of no birth—in a land where good descent counted for as much as in any European State that ever existed. Their habits were those of the labouring classes, with a stronger savour of what may charitably be called Bohemianism than was displayed by any of their fellow craftsmen. And it was no uncommon occurrence for them to turn from one trade to another without effort; as, for instance, Hokkei abandoned the business of selling fish for that of making prints. But it must be said that a proportion found their artistic inspiration in the craft to which they were primarily brought up—embroidery-making, dyeing, and the like.

These men were, then, essentially of the people. They made for a living what it best paid them to make; and this simple fact is worth keeping in mind in view of

the glamour which certain European critics, dazzled by their amazing and (from our point of view) unaccountable skill, have endeavoured to throw over them.

On a survey of the whole range of subjects on general lines, it will be seen that these (with the exception of the *surimono*—a class apart) group themselves in a few easily defined categories; pictures of women; theatrical scenes and portraits of actors; illustrations of historical and legendary stories, and landscapes. The latter have been already treated of in Chapter IX. It only remains now to discuss the first three.

As regards the women, it must be said that the most attractive, and the most useful to designers, are the pictures of the denizens of the Yoshiwara of Yedo, and the similar institutions of Kiōto, Osaka, and Nagasaki. In them are seen the finest colour, the richest costume, and the most delicate drawing. They form a large proportion of the whole; and this alone will at once explain the contempt felt by all refined Japanese for an art which devotes its greatest powers to the portraiture of the courtesan. Besides the Yoshiwara women, Geisha—singing girls and tea-house attendants—were greatly favoured; and, of both classes, the leading beauties are found to have been depicted by many of the chief colour-print makers of their day, in evident rivalry. Representations of ordinary women are not uncommon, though in the minority.

Yoshiwara women and *geisha* were often painted merely as portraits—sometimes, and especially by the schools of Utamaro and Yeizan, the head and shoulders only. Or the former are depicted at full length, in all the glory of magnificent apparel—

> "Flowing gowned
> And hugely sashed, with pins a-row
> Your quaint head as with flamelets crowned,"

or engaged in the amusements with which the long day

was whiled away within the cage; while the *geisha* are shown bearing their musical instruments, or giving the entertainments of their profession. But one curious, and, as far as the author knows, unique custom, prevailed in this pictorial worship of women. The artists had a fancy—quaint, and not without a dash of irony one would suspect—of representing all sorts of occupations, scenes of daily life, heroes of history and legend, and even deities, by women, generally of the two above-named classes. Thus, we have already noticed a representation of the craft of colour printing itself of this kind; the cultivation of the silkworm is another favoured subject in which the persons engaged are by no means peasants; the old-time processions of the nobles with their retinues of attendants, banner-bearers, and swordsmen, form the theme of some of the best five and three-sheet prints by the Utagawas—but there is never a man among them; the Chinese Sages, the One Hundred and Eight Chinese Heroes, the Famous Classical Poets, the Gods of Good Fortune, and other deities, all are often found in the guise of beautiful women. And even in landscape, such series as the Stations of the Tōkaidō, are similarly suggested, by some allusion too subtle for the European to detect, of which the outward sign is a gaily-dressed female.

The second category mentioned, that connected with theatrical matters, calls for a more detailed explanation, inasmuch as it displays an interesting characteristic of the Japanese nation. In Japan the drama has existed for many generations; the common people are passionately fond of it; and even the aristocracy had a suppressed taste in the same direction; which, however, was rarely allowed to display itself publicly. A favourite actor was idolised by the populace—as an actor. On the stage he was supreme. His portrait sold by thousands. But, as a man, his social rank was inferior to that of

the artisan. Even those colour-print artists who devoted themselves to making portraits of actors and pictures of scenes from popular plays suffered from the association; and histories of the lives of painters of the Ukiyoye School continually record, obviously as a virtue, that such or such an artist "never painted actors." The well-known story of Hokusai and the great actor Onoye Baikō is an apt illustration of this state of affairs. In 1810, when Hokusai was very poor, Baikō was anxious to obtain from him a design of a certain kind of phantom, a class of work for which the artist was then in high repute. Baikō visited him in some state, and, on entering the wretched room in which Hokusai then lived, almost without furniture, without a stove, and carpeted with dirty mats, he, before sitting down, spread a rug of his own on which to rest in comfort and cleanliness, and then began the usual polite forms of conversation. Hokusai, his pride hurt by this ostentation, went on with his work in absolute silence, utterly ignoring the presence of the actor, who finally had to depart bitterly angry and humiliated. After a time, however, he again sought the artist, this time humbly and with many apologies; and so, eventually, induced him to accept a commission. Yet at this very time Hokusai's house bore the inscription "Hachiyemon—Peasant."

Allusion has just been made to the demand for portraits of actors. So long ago as 1695 those of the famous actor, Ichikawa Danjūrō (the name is hereditary, and there have been many holders of it), were sold in the streets of Yedo. These portraits were sometimes of the head only; sometimes full length figures, in character. The actors are often shown in the mask-like "make-up" of the stage, a detail which affords an explanation of a harshness and conventionality of drawing in the face, sometimes too hastily ascribed to the artists' incapacity for accurate portraiture. Besides the portraits,

scenes from well-known plays were extremely popular. These generally consist of three figures, the central one being the principal; and the scenery and accessories are carefully and fully rendered. It would take too long to give even the slightest account of the plays most often chosen, but attention must be drawn to the most famous of them—the *Chūshingura*, or Story of the Forty-seven *Rōnin*. This old romance rests on a sound historical foundation. A certain lord was forced, as the outcome of an unsought quarrel put upon him by a rival, to perform *harakiri*, and so reduced his *samurai*, retainers, to the condition of *rōnin*, or vassals without a chief. They waited their time, and, after a while, attacked the house of the offender, killed him, and then, marching in solemn procession, surrendered themselves and all put an end to their lives with due formality, after making a record of the facts. The story has been delightfully told in Mitford's "Tales of Old Japan"; and more accurately by Mr. James Murdoch, who has made a compilation of the results of an examination of the documents by Mr. Shigeno, Professor of History in the Imperial University of Japan. As it stands it is the foundation of several plays, and still holds the pride of place at the head of the favourite stories of the nation. The event occurred in the year 1701–2. In colour prints it is represented in various ways: often in the form of sets of twelve scenes; sometimes the personages are all shown as women; sometimes comic travesties of it appear; and again portraits of the heroes, or of actors playing the parts of them, or of the *rōnin*.

Colour prints were used for theatre programmes. Such have portraits of the actors in the play announced, surmounted with inscriptions in a peculiar heavy script, very decorative in character. Other prints have pictures of an actor in each of his favourite parts, or even in each of the characters of a special play. When a popular

actor died, his portrait, with shaven head, dressed in the pale blue robe of the religious recluse, and sometimes placed in the attitude of a Buddha, was sold in large numbers. This custom seems especially to have prevailed about the period Ansei (A.D. 1854–60).

The exteriors and interiors of theatres were drawn by several artists, the latter notably by Toyokuni I. and Kunisada, who also both made some most interesting sectional views showing the interiors of the "backs" of theatres, with the dressing-rooms, corridors, etc., and actors engaged in all the processes of "making-up" and dressing for the stage. A specially interesting set of three prints of this nature by Kunisada of the Dōtombori Theatre at Ōsaka has already been described in the life of that artist.

Among historical scenes, none are more often met with than those relating to events in the life of Yoshitsune (or Ushiwaka)—the brother of Yoritomo—and of his servant Benkei. These are the great heroes of historical romance in Japan; and the people were never tired of pictures of Yoshitsune being taught fencing by the *Tengu* (mythical beings, half human and half bird); of his fight with Benkei on Gojō bridge, where he overcame, and secured for ever after the service of, that gigantic warrior; of their wanderings and wonderful adventures together; and of Yoshitsune's prowess in the battles between his clan, the Minamoto, and their enemies, the Taira, culminating with the defeat and destruction of the latter at Dan-no-ura. The story of Benkei himself is another fruitful source of colour prints, the theft of the great bell of Miidera, and the tale of the plum-tree of Amagasaki, on which the Emperor Nintoku had written a famous poem, being the incidents most often chosen.

The expeditions to Korea of the Empress Jingō in the third, and of Katō Kiyomasa and Konishi, under Hideyoshi, in the sixteenth century, are similarly dealt

with ; while short mention must be made of the fight between Atsumori and Kumagai ; the story of Yorimitsu and the Shuten-dōji ; the revenge of the Soga brothers for the murder of their father ; and incidents in the lives of Kiyohime, Tadamori, Yorimasa, and Kusunoki Masashige, which also belong to this category.

In addition to these three principal classes of subject just dealt with there are certain others which call for mention. In the first rank of these must be placed the Seven Gods of Good Fortune (*Shichi-fuku-jin*), who are treated with such jovial comradeship and so little reverence by the Japanese. These are—Fukurokuju, a little old man with an abnormally high forehead, bearing a staff and accompanied by one or all of, the deer, crane, and tortoise ; he represents longevity. Very similar in appearance and with the same emblems, except that he is usually represented as taller than the last, is Jurōjin. Daikoku, the deity of the Five Cereals, carries a hammer and bag, and has for other attributes bales of rice, and tea, and a rat. Hotei carries a large bag, and is fat, with a broad smiling face, and his robe generally open at the breast. Yebisu, whose function it is to provide the food of the Japanese labourer, carries a huge *tai* fish. Bishamon, a warrior in full armour, is the deity of wealth. Benten (Benzaiten) is the goddess of wealth, fertility and offspring. She is shown with a serpent or dragon and as a beautiful woman playing on a musical instrument—and, it may be said, is seldom made the subject of pictorial jokes, as are her fellows. The Seven Gods are often depicted on the *Takarabune*, or Ship of Good Fortune, on which they sail into port every New Year's eve, bearing the *Takaramono* or Precious Things —the Hat of Invisibility, the Lucky Raincloak, the Inexhaustible Purse, and other similar Treasures. Of other deities perhaps Amaterasu, the Sun-Goddess, and Shōki, the queller of *oni* (demons), should be mentioned,

as well as Kwannon, the female Buddha and goddess of Mercy.

The *Rokkasen* or Six Famous Poets, were Ono no Komachi, Sōjō Henjō, Bunya no Yasuhide, Ariwara no Narihira, Kisen Hōshi, and Otomo no Kuronushi. They, or travesties of them, frequently appear in the colour prints, as do the Thirty-Six Poets whose names are given in full by Professor Anderson and Papinot. The Twenty-four examples of Filial Piety; the Hundred and Eight Chinese Heroes; and the Hundred Poems, also furnish motives for sets of prints, especially in the later periods of the art.

Story-telling, pure and simple, had its most popular illustration in sets of prints of scenes in the life of Prince Genji, the hero of a tenth-century romance, the *Genji Monogatari*, by a Fujiwara princess, Murasaki Shikibu. This novel is in fifty-four chapters, of which the first forty-one deal with the adventures of the prince, chiefly amongst ladies—and the remainder principally with one of his sons. Kunisada made some, the best of his later prints, for this purpose. Of the folk tales, that of Urashima, the Japanese equivalent of Rip Van Winkle, the Bamboo cutter's daughter, Little Peachling, and the story of the Sacred Jewel (*Muge Hōju*) have inspired many artists. The stories are all set out at length in Anderson's Catalogue, and in most of the collections of Japanese fairy tales.

Comic scenes and caricatures are not common, and rarely well executed. It seems to have been felt that any sort of work was good enough for such prints as avowedly belonged to this class; though this remark must not be taken as applying to some of the productions of Hokusai and Hiroshige I., wherein the humour is subjective and a result of accurate and appreciative observation of humanity. But, in the decline of the art, we find acts of "Comic Accidents" with incidents

of a broadly farcical nature, as well as battles between frogs and mice or even between vegetables and other objects, which supply a simple form of satire. Kuniyoshi made a set of remarkable prints imitating sketches such as are scribbled on the walls by idle people, and the Museum possesses three of them. The story of Hidari Jingorō, the famous sculptor, whose masterpiece came to life when finished, also furnishes material for the irreverent colour-print designer.

A number of prints were specially designed to be mounted as fans. The Museum contains a good collection of work of this kind, which is often extremely beautiful.

It will be noticed, on a review of the whole of the subjects of the colour prints, that many which were formerly the most popular suddenly ceased to appear in anything like large quantities. This was probably due, not so much to a change of fashion, as to an edict of the Shōgun, issued in 1842, forbidding the sale of prints of actors, of women of the Yoshiwara and geisha classes, as well as of three-sheet pictures, and any which required more than seven blocks. Captain F. Brinkley* states that this law only remained in force for twelve years; but he rightly points out that it must have severely checked the production of colour prints, and doubtless hastened the decadence. It also accounts for the gaps in the work of artists such as Kunisada and Kuniyoshi.

It only remains to note that many sets of prints are arranged on some plan suggested by the division of time: the seasons, the months, the hours of the day, the rising and setting of the sun and moon. And that others record greater outdoor holidays, picnics, for the purpose of viewing cherry or plum blossom, or maple leaves in the autumn; the iris gardens in bloom, the hills covered

* Brinkley (Capt. F.)—"The Art of Japan," Vol. I., p. 33. Boston, U.S.A., 1901.

with snow, or the summer evenings in the suburbs of Yedo, when the river was crowded with boats gaily lit with lanterns, and the sky ruddy with the flash of fireworks.

All these scenes give a charming reflection of the life of the lower classes in old Japan—their simple pleasures, their tastes, and the occupations and surroundings of their daily lives. Looked at as a whole, the matter is somewhat admirable, for of no other nation in the world can it be said that its lowest grades of society have, during a century and a half, evolved, perfected and maintained a system so complete, excellent, and artistic; resting, moreover, on an intricate technique, which, in its own way, has never been equalled. There is no higher praise possible for the fine taste of the average Japanese.

The most complete book of reference for the subjects of Colour-prints and other Japanese art-work is Ko-ji Hō-ten. Dictionnaire d'objets d'art japonais et chinois. V. F. Weber (Paris, 1923).

HAROLD BRIDGES LIBRARY
S. MARTIN'S COLLEGE
LANCASTER

XIII.

A JAPANESE HISTORY OF ENGRAVING.

The Museum contains a print (E. 4760—'86) by Hoku-i, which has a quite particular interest in connection with the history of engraving. It is of no great artistic merit, the picture consisting simply of representations of three persons seated around a dwarf pine-tree, on which are seen a hairy tailed tortoise and a crane—all three being well-known symbols of long life and good luck. These figures are portraits; the first of an artist —probably Hoku-i himself, with paint-brushes and a badge constructed with repetitions of the character *Gwa* (painting), and wearing a ceremonial cap. The second is an engraver with mallet and badge of eight chisels placed like the spokes of a wheel; and the third, a printer, whose badge is three printing brushes similarly disposed. The two latter have caps of less dignity than the first. The title of the print is *Adzuma Nishikiye Yurai* (History of Japanese Colour Prints) and a note explains that the print refers also to *Ishizuri* prints from engraved stone; *Hankō*, wood-cuts; *Surimono*, specially printed designs for the New Year, etc. The signature is Haku-sanjin Hoku-i (who was a pupil of Hokusai); and the publisher, Kobayashi Bunseidō. There is a long inscription which, freely translated, runs as follows:—

"The inventor of engraving was Goshi Sonja, an early "disciple of Sakya Muni, who dwelt on the mountain "Reijū-sen in India. He engraved texts on copper "plates, but without reversing the lettering. From these, "impressions in reverse were obtained with black grease, "or 'wax,' which were sent to China. The Chinese

"copied them on stone, and so began stone-printing. In "China, about the period Kan-shū (100 B.C.), Fêng-tao "Hiōdō printed texts from wood, which was the beginning "of wood-cuts. Shiro, a follower of Kōshi (Confucius), "made a poem of about fifty characters cut on one "piece of camphor wood, which was hung on the wall "of his study. *Nishikiye* began in the time of Ashikaga "Yoshimasa (a great patron of the arts, died A.D. 1490), "who ordered Tosa Shōgen to make a painting of the "'Hundred Devils Walking in the Evening.' Oguri "Sōtan was master of Ukiyo Matahei, who lived at "Ōtsu, and painted many *Tobaye* with colour; and "this was the beginning of *Ukiyo Nishikiye*. In the "period of Genna (A.D. 1616–1623), Katsukatsubō "Kiūshi, a comic poet who lived in Musashi, ordered "Chikamatsu Riūsai, a seal-engraver, to engrave on "cherrywood a picture of a pine-branch, and this was "the beginning of *Surimono*. In the period Manji "(A.D 1658–1660) another man from the same district, "Takegawa Nuinosuke, observing how impressions were "rubbed off leaves (*Shinobuzuri*) obtained the idea of "making colour prints."

Of course the importance of this document must not be exaggerated. Its author was only an artisan; and though he lived long enough to have come into touch with the beginnings of modern Japan, his story must not be given the same credit as would be awarded to that of a more educated man. As it stands it contains several obvious errors, as the earlier chapters of this book make manifest. But he undoubtedly sets forth the common Japanese tradition as to the first beginnings of engraving; and the suggestion, in this by no means negligible form, that the Chinese owed their arts of printing and engraving to the Buddhist missionaries from India is absolutely new to us. It is, moreover, well worthy of further examination: especially in view of the admittedly high

excellence of the art of sculpture even in the time of the Buddhist King Asoka. It is to be noted also, that we already possess a record that, in the second century B.C., an embassy, perhaps sent by Huviska, took Buddhist books to the Emperor of China Wu Ti; and that a successor, the Buddhist King Kanishka (about 10 A.D.), is said to have had three commentaries engraved on plates of copper and sealed up in a stone box, over which he built a Dâgoba (Rhys Davids). These things show that those writers, who have hitherto ascribed the invention of engraving on metal to the later Middle Ages of Europe, must go much farther afield in their researches.

In this connection, reference may be made to the early Chinese prints reproduced in No. 349 of the "Kokka" and ascribed to the South Sung or Yüan Dynasty. They very closely correspond, in form, to the earliest Japanese *nishiki-ye.*

JAPANESE CHRONOLOGY.

The Japanese have three methods of chronology. Firstly, by periods, each dating from some special event, and of arbitrary length; secondly, by cycles of sixty years each; and, thirdly, by cycles of twelve years, to each of which is given the name of an animal in regular sequence. As the latter practice is frequently of value in dating a print, when the animal of the year is introduced into the design, a comparative table according to the different methods is given below.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE PERIOD COVERED BY THIS VOLUME.

Year of our Lord.	Japanese Period.	Year of the Cycle.	Name of the Year.	Year of our Lord.	Japanese Period.	Year of the Cycle.	Name of the Year.
1688	Genroku	5	Dragon.	1700		17	Dragon.
9		6	Snake.	1		18	Snake.
1690		7	Horse.	2		19	Horse.
1		8	Sheep.*	3		20	Sheep.
2		9	Monkey.	4	Hōyei	21	Monkey.
3		10	Cock.	5		22	Cock.
4		11	Dog.	6		23	Dog.
5		12	Wild Boar.	7		24	Wild Boar.
6		13	Rat.	8		25	Rat.
7		14	Ox.	9		26	Ox.
8		15	Tiger.	1710		27	Tiger.
9		16	Hare.	1	Shōtoku	28	Hare.

* Or Goat.

Year of our Lord.	Japanese Period.	Year of the Cycle.	Name of the Year.	Year of our Lord.	Japanese Period.	Year of the Cycle.	Name of the Year.
1712		29	Dragon.	1745		2	Ox.
3		30	Snake.	6		3	Tiger.
4		31	Horse.	7		4	Hare.
5		32	Sheep.	8	Kwanyen	5	Dragon.
6	Kiōhō	33	Monkey.	9		6	Snake.
7		34	Cock.	1750		7	Horse.
8		35	Dog.	1	Hōreki	8	Sheep.
9		36	Wild Boar.	2		9	Monkey.
1720		37	Rat.	3		10	Cock.
1		38	Ox.	4		11	Dog.
2		39	Tiger.	5		12	Wild Boar.
3		40	Hare.	6		13	Rat.
4		41	Dragon.	7		14	Ox.
5		42	Snake.	8		15	Tiger.
6		43	Horse.	9		16	Hare.
7		44	Sheep.	1760		17	Dragon.
8		45	Monkey.	1		18	Snake.
9		46	Cock.	2		19	Horse.
1730		47	Dog.	3		20	Sheep.
1		48	Wild Boar.	4	Meiwa	21	Monkey.
2		49	Rat.	5		22	Cock.
3		50	Ox.	6		23	Dog.
4		51	Tiger.	7		24	Wild Boar.
5		52	Hare.	8		25	Rat.
6	Gembun	53	Dragon.	9		26	Ox.
7		54	Snake.	1770		27	Tiger.
8		55	Horse.	1		28	Hare.
9		56	Sheep.	2	Anyei	29	Dragon.
1740		57	Monkey.	3		30	Snake.
1	Kwampō	58	Cock.	4		31	Horse.
2		59	Dog.	5		32	Sheep.
3		60	Wild Boar.	6		33	Monkey.
4	Yenkiō	1	Rat.	7		34	Cock.

Year of our Lord.	Japanese Period.	Year of the Cycle.	Name of the Year.	Year of our Lord.	Japanese Period.	Year of the Cycle.	Name of the Year.
1778		35	Dog.	1811		8	Sheep.
9		36	Wild Boar.	2		9	Monkey.
1780		37	Rat.	3		10	Cock.
1	Temmei	38	Ox.	4		11	Dog.
2		39	Tiger.	5		12	Wild Boar.
3		40	Hare.	6		13	Rat.
4		41	Dragon.	7		14	Ox.
5		42	Snake.	8	Bunsei	15	Tiger.
6		43	Horse.	9		16	Hare.
7		44	Sheep.	1820		17	Dragon.
8		45	Monkey.	1		18	Snake.
9	Kwansei	46	Cock.	2		19	Horse.
1790		47	Dog.	3		20	Sheep.
1		48	Wild Boar.	4		21	Monkey.
2		49	Rat.	5		22	Cock.
3		50	Ox.	6		23	Dog.
4		51	Tiger.	7		24	Wild Boar.
5		52	Hare.	8		25	Rat.
6		53	Dragon.	9		26	Ox.
7		54	Snake.	1830	Tempō	27	Tiger.
8		55	Horse.	1		28	Hare.
9		56	Sheep	2		29	Dragon.
1800		57	Monkey.	3		30	Snake.
1		58	Cock.	4		31	Horse.
2	Kiōwa	59	Dog.	5		32	Sheep.
3		60	Wild Boar.	6		33	Monkey.
4	Bunkwa	1	Rat.	7		34	Cock.
5		2	Ox.	8		35	Dog.
6		3	Tiger.	9		36	Wild Boar.
7		4	Hare.	1840		37	Rat.
8		5	Dragon.	1		38	Ox.
9		6	Snake.	2		39	Tiger.
1810		7	Horse.	3		40	Hare.

Year of our Lord.	Japanese Period.	Year of the Cycle.	Name of the Year.	Year of our Lord.	Japanese Period.	Year of the Cycle.	Name of the Year.
1844	Kōkwa	41	Dragon.	1857		54	Snake.
5		42	Snake.	8		55	Horse.
6		43	Horse.	9		56	Sheep.
7		44	Sheep.	1860	Mangen	57	Monkey.
8	Kayei	45	Monkey.	1	Bunkiū	58	Cock.
9		46	Cock.	2		59	Dog.
1850		47	Dog.	3		60	Wild Boar.
1		48	Wild Boar.	4	Genji	1	Rat.
2		49	Rat.	5	Kei-ō	2	Ox.
3		50	Ox.	6		3	Tiger.
4	Ansei	51	Tiger.	7		4	Hare.
5		52	Hare.	1868	Meiji	5	Dragon.
6		53	Dragon.	1912	Taishō	49	Rat.

The months also are associated with the names of the twelve animals as under :—

January—*Tiger*.	May—*Horse*.	September—*Dog*.
February—*Hare*.	June—*Sheep* or *Goat*.	October—*Wild Boar*
March—*Dragon*.	July—*Monkey*.	November—*Rat*.
April—*Snake*.	August—*Cock*.	December—*Ox*.

In his preface to the Sale Catalogue of his Collection of Works by Hiroshige (June, 1909), Mr. J. S. Happer made an announcement of great importance, as to the possibility of identifying certain seals on the colour-prints with the names of the years, as given above. He has proved this to be the case ; and, by this means, a print can often be placed within a cycle of 12 years, and, when the cycle can be fixed from other evidence, its date can be precisely ascertained.

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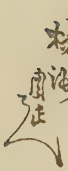
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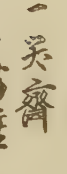
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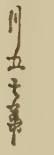
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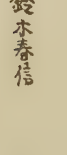
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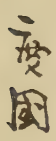
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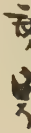
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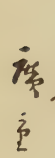
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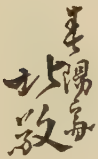
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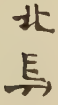
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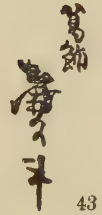
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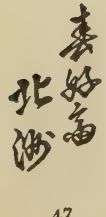
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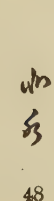
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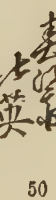
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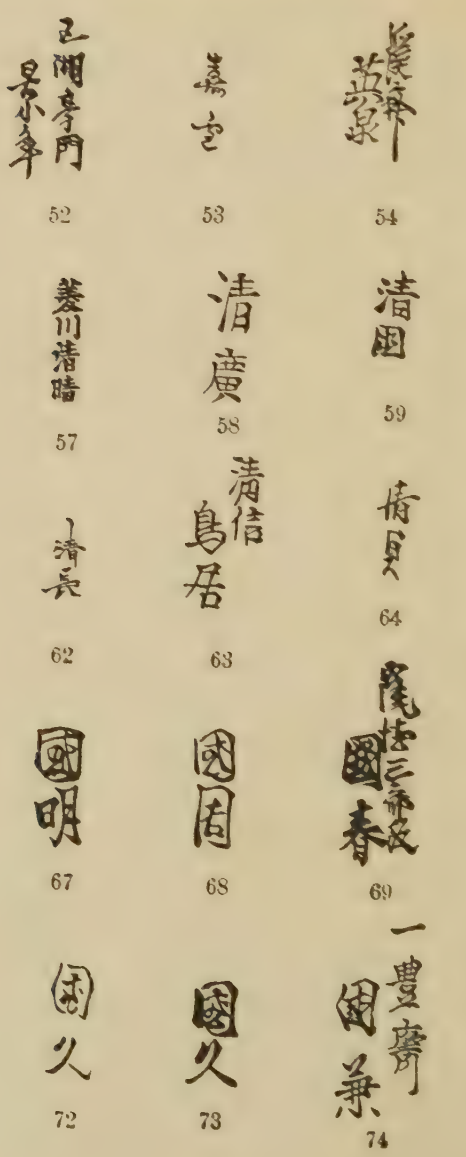
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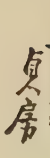
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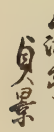
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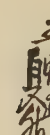
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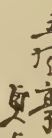
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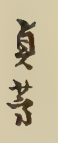
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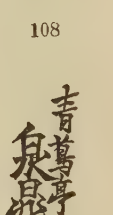
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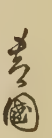
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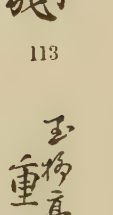
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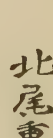
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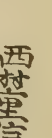
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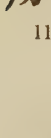
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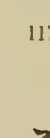
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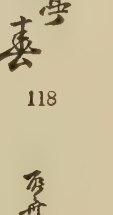
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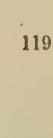
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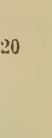
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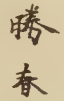
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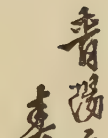
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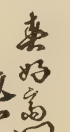
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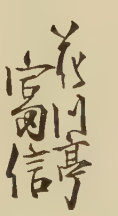
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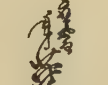
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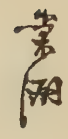
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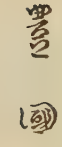
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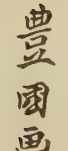
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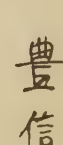
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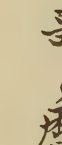
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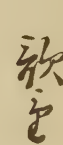
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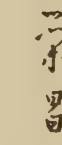
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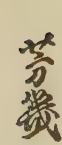
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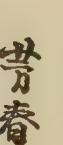
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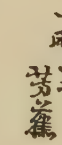
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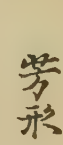
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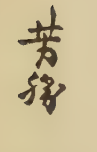
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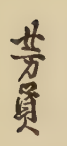
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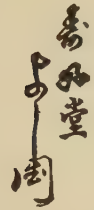
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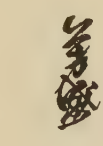
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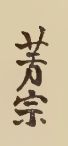
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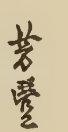
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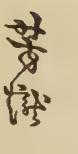
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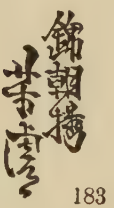
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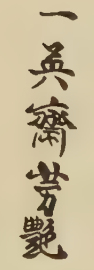
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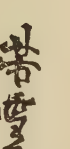
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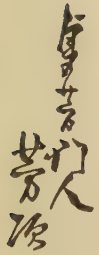
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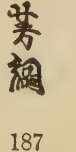
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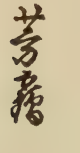
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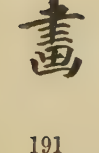
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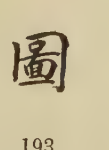
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NOTE.—The supplementary names are those in brackets; that in larger type being the one by which the artist is generally known.

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BAISHŪ	8
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Bunchō, Ippitsusai.—Tamagiku of Nakamanjiya, with a view of the river at Mimeguri.

GAKUTEI.—Sugawara-no-Michizane and Rin-Wa-Sei; the Japanese and Chinese lovers of the peach-blossom; *Surimono.*

PLATE II.

Gakutei.—Ships entering Tempozan Harbour.

GEKKŌ.—Shōbu, a garden of Sweet-flags.

GOKEI. Komurasaki of Tamaya with a companion and lover on New Year's Day.

GOSHICHI.—Beauty of the Yoshiwara in time of cherry-blossom.
Surimono.

HANZAN.—Street performers of "Niwaka" (a comic play).
Surimono.

PLATE VII.

HARUNOBU.—A courtesan watching her maids make a snow dog.

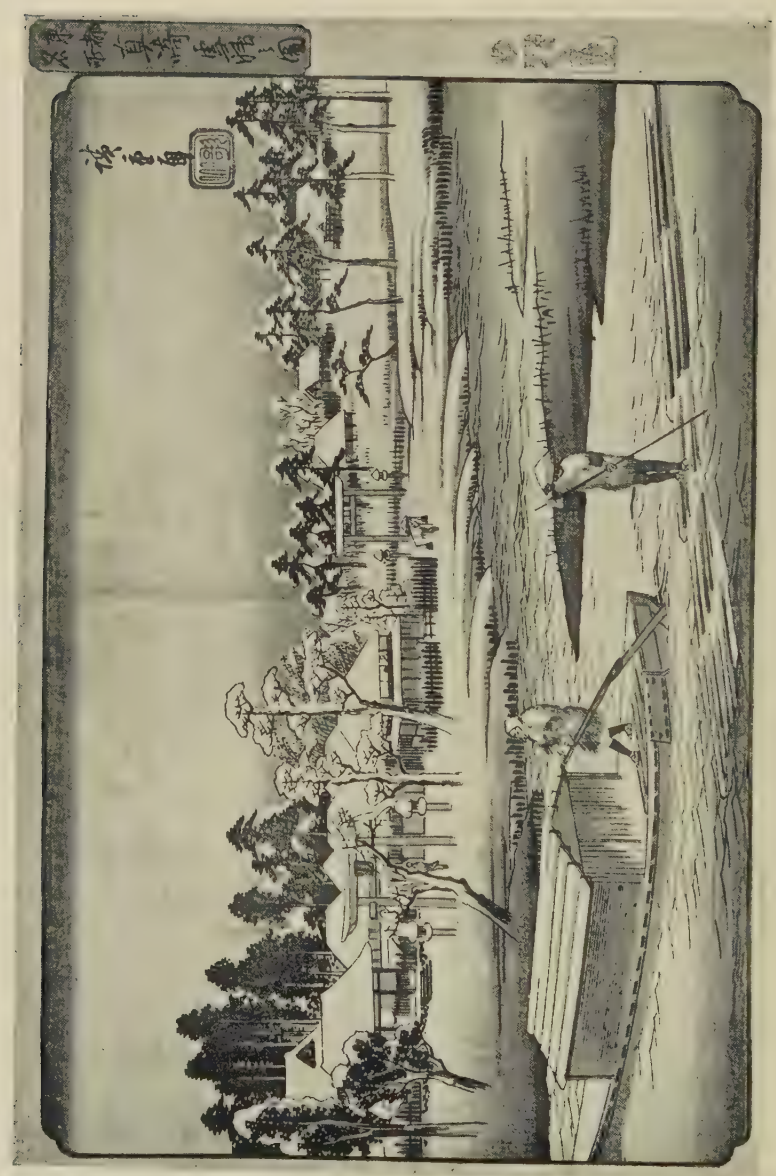
PLATE IX.

HARUNOBU.—A beauty of the Yoshiwara and her attendants.

HIROSADA.—Theatrical Scene. Munemori, Kiyomori and Tokiwa-no-mai.

HIROSHIGE.—Boats sailing home from Yabase.

PLATE XI.



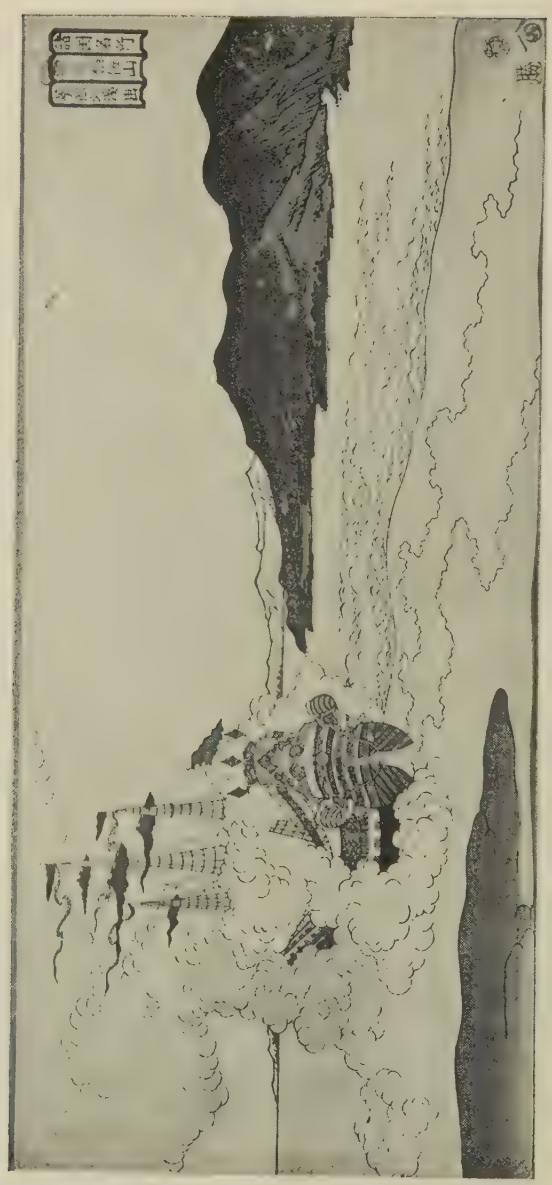
HIROSHIGE.—The Shintō Temple of Masaki, Yedo, in snow.

HIROSHIGE.—Specimen-sheet made for a dealer in shell work.

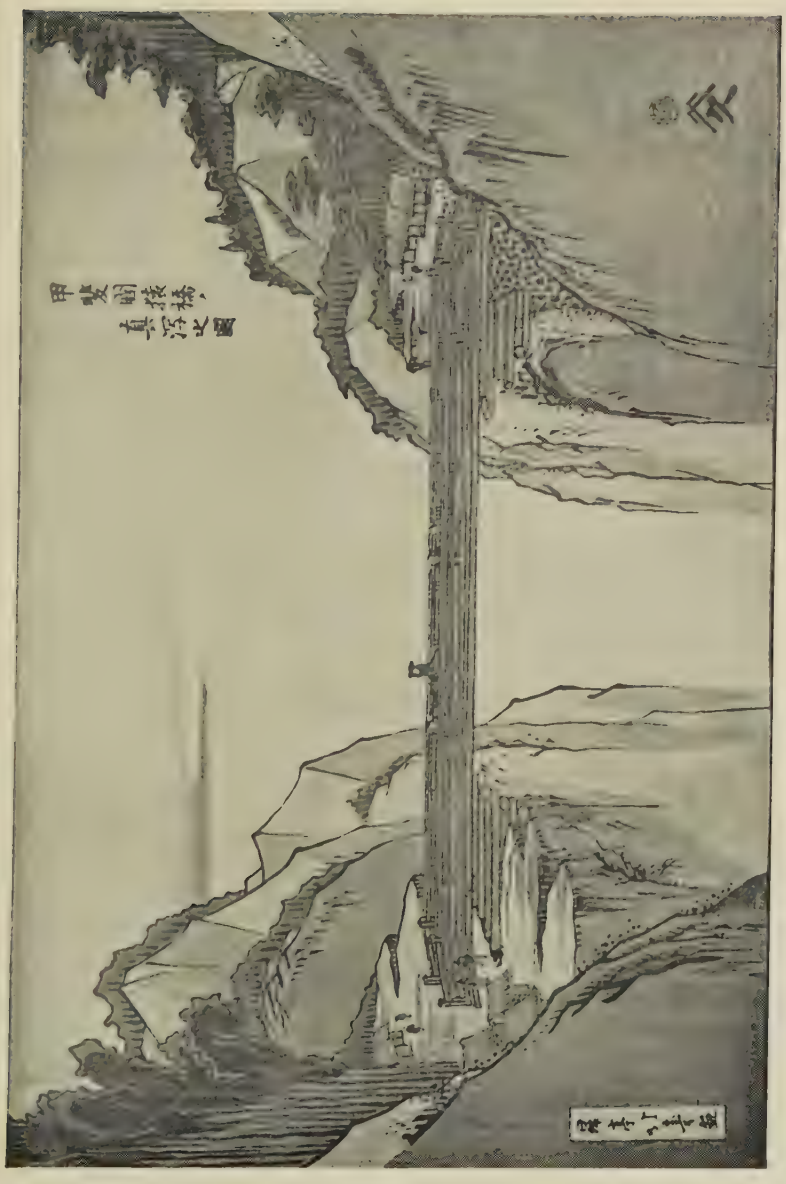
HIROSHIGE.—Eagle and Snow. From the "Hundred Views of Yedo."

HIROSHIGE.—Illustration to the story of Prince Genji.
(Chap. IV., Yūgsao).

HOKKEI.—Feeding a *Yenrio* or Salt Dragon.
Surimono.



HOKKEI.—Inasayama at the entrance to the harbour of Nagasaki, with a European ship saluting.



Hokuju, Shōtei.—The *Sarubashi* (Monkey-bridge) in Kōshū Province.

HOKUSAI.—Sekiya Village on the Sumida River. No. 46 of the "Views of Mount Fuji."

Hokusai.—Picnic in the season of Cherry-blossom at Higashiyama, Kyoto.

HOKUSAI.—Yatsuhashi, in Mikawa Province. One of the "Picturesque Views of famous Bridges."

PLATE XXII.

HOKUSAI.—Kingfisher, Iris and Pink.

Hokuyei.—The Actor Nakamura in the play Hyakusho Yasaku.

KIKUMARO.— Portrait of Ainare of the Kado-yebi-ya engaged in the Tea Ceremony.

KIYOMINE.—Woman playing the Tsudzumi.

KIYOMITSU II. (KIYOMINE).—Singing girl.

KIYOMITSU I.—The actor Bando Hikosaburō in the character of Shinoda-no-Kotarō.

KIYONAGA.—Portrait of Segawa of Matsubaya.

KIYONOBU.—Two lovers.

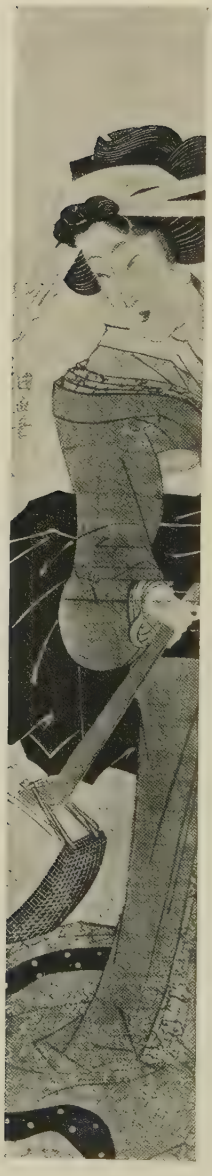
KORIUSAI.—The famous beauty, Mantayū with attendants playing the Surogoku Game.

KORIUSAI.—Crow and Heron in snow, typifying the contrast between black and white. *Surimono.*

KORIUSAI.—Portrait of Hanaōgi of Ogiwa, with attendants.

KUNIHISA.—The actor Bandō Mitsugorō, in character.

KUNIMASA.—The actors Sawamura Sōjūrō and Segawa Kikusaburō in character.



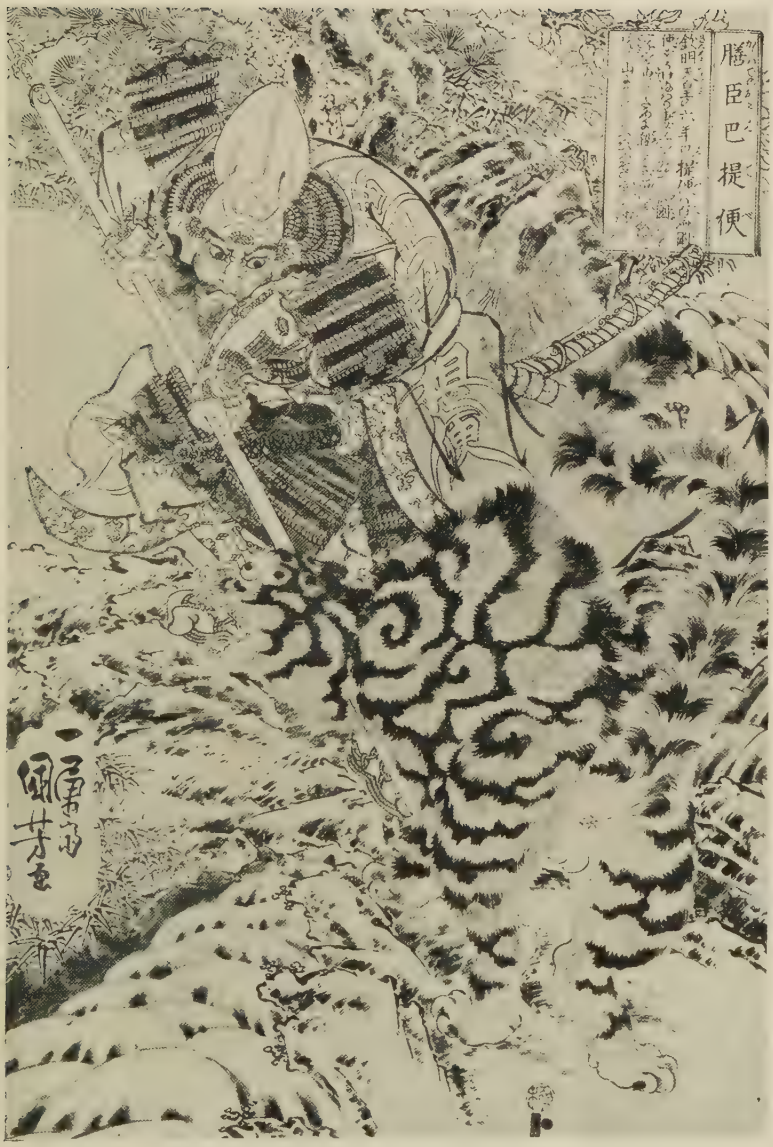
KUNINAO.—A singing girl.

KUNISADA.—Portrait of Koimurasaki of Kado-tama-ya.

KUNISADA.—One of the views of the Tōkaidō.

KUNISADA II. (Kunimasa).—The spirit of a waterfall.

KUNIYOSHI.—The actor Ichikawa Danzō in the part of Sato Masakiyo (Kato Kiyomasa).



KUNIYOSHI.—Kashiwaden Omi Hadesu killing the Korean tiger which had carried off his daughter. Original drawing for an unpublished colour-print.

KUNIYOSHI.—Caricatures imitating sketches scribbled on a wall.

Kyōsai, Shōjō.—Hotei wading through the sea with three children in his pack.

MASANOBU, Kitao.—Visitor with a geisha and attendant on the verandah of a tea-house.

Nihō.—Landscape in snow.
Surimono.

SAKUGAWA.—Wild geese alighting at Katada.—From the "Eight Views of Lake Biwa."

SADANOBU.—The actor Nakamura Utayemon dressing for the part of Kōno Moronao.

Senchō, Teisai.—Mitsusode of Owariya.

SHIGEHARU, Riūsai.—The actor Nakamura Utayemon performing the "Lion Dance." *Surimono.*

SHIGENOBU, Yanagawa.—A Beauty of the Yoshiwara. *Surimono.*

SHIKŌ.—Singing girls.

PLATE LII.

SHINSAI.—Yebisu on a monster "Tai" fish
Surimono.

SHUNCHŌ.—Theatrical scene with Musicians.

SHUNCHŌ.—Portrait of Hanaōgi, a beauty of the Yoshiwara.

PLATE LV.

SHUNKO.—A Temple dance.

SHUNKYŌ.—Tagasode of Daimonjiya

SHUNSEN.—Jō and Uba, the Spirits of the Pine-tree.

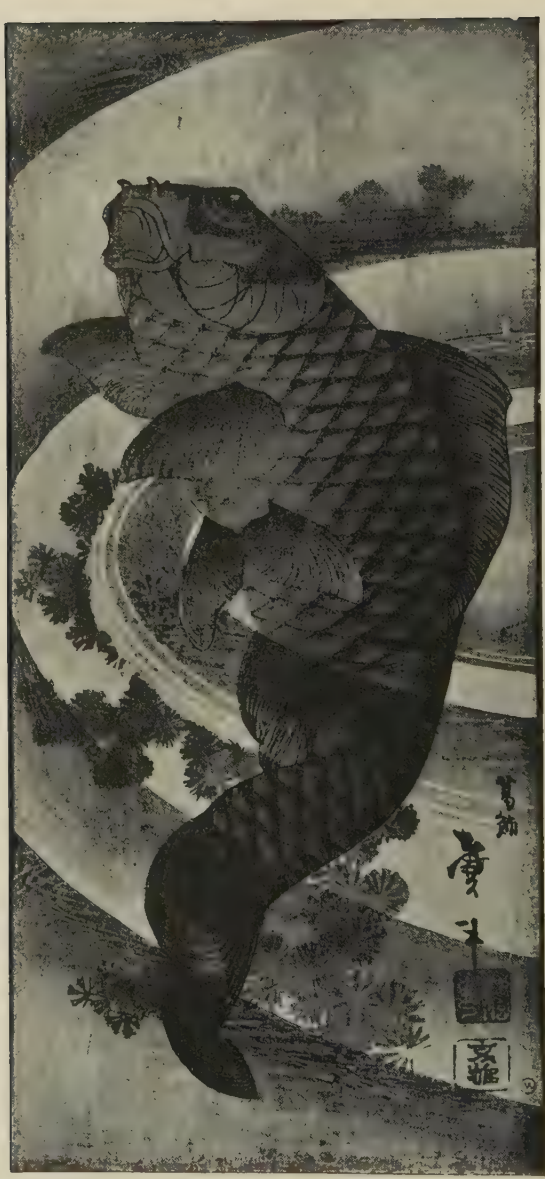
PLATE LVIII

SHUNSHŌ.—A Temple dance.

SHUNSHŌ.—Women rearing silkworms.

SHUNYEI.—Asahina Saburō
wrestling with Soga Gorō.

SHUNZAN.—Scene at the gate of the Temple of Asakusa.



TAITŌ.—Carp.

TERUSHIGE.—Man and woman warming themselves under a *Kotatsu*.
(Coloured by hand.)

PLATE LXIII.

TOSHIKATA.—Feeding carp in time of *wistaria* blossom.

Toshinobu, Okumura.—Traveller led by a woman as a guide. (Lacquer Print.)

TOYOHARU.—The arrest of Marubashi Chūya.

PLATE LXVII.

TOYOHIRO.—Narahira crossing the Tamagawa.

Toyohisa.—Portrait of Somekawa of Matsubaya.

Toyokuni I.—A noble youth with female attendants visiting a temple.

TOYOKUNI I.—Iwai Kumesaburō in the part of the murderess Ko-ume, wife of Ume no Yoshibei.

TOYOKUNI I.—Theatrical scene. Totoki Denshichi fighting with his father's murderer.

Toyokuni (Gosotei).—The Tamagawa (river) by moonlight.

TOYOKUNI (Gosotei, *signed* Toyoshige).—The actor Iwai Kumesaburō as the Lady Akoya.

TOYOMASA, Ishikawa.—Children playing the game of the eighth month.

UTAMARO.—Women after a bath.

UTAMARO.—Portrait of Yeso-oi of the Matsubaya, a famous beauty.

UTAMARO.—Women making colour prints.

YEIRI.—The house of a noble with ladies looking through a screen.

YEISEN, Keisai.—Kutsukake. Loaded oxen in rain. One of the "Sixty-nine views of the Kiso Kaidō."

PLATE LXXIX.

YEISEN, Keisai.—A beauty of the Yoshiwara.

YEISHI.—Scene from the story of Prince Genji, represented by women.

YEISHŌ.—Yeso-oi, a woman of the Matsuba House in the Yoshiwara.

YEIZAN.—Singing-girls on a balcony.

Yoshiyuki.—View near Osaka.

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